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POPE ADRIAN IV.

J. D. MACKIE

Oxford

1907

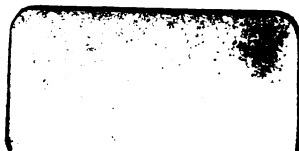
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POPE ADRIAN IV.

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THE LOTHIAN ESSAY

1907

BY

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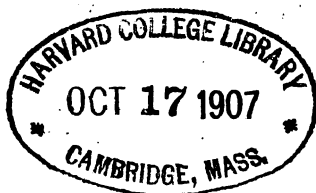
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PREFATORY NOTE

I WISH, by way of preface, to acknowledge the very kind help given me by Mr. R. L. Poole, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who has corrected many errors which appeared in the original essay, and given valuable suggestions as to the best means of verifying some of the evidence.

J. D. MACKIE.

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POPE ADRIAN IV.

I

INTRODUCTION

IN spite of much apparent evidence to the contrary, the Middle Ages were, in truth, an era of hard practicality. For while all the greatest names are those of idealists, of men with lofty ambitions, the conclusion which inevitably presents itself to the mind of the student is that actual success was attained to by those who were content to devote their whole energies to the realization of smaller aims. Otto III. was *stupor mundi*. He could cross the Alps at the head of the German array, he could overrun all Italy, and create reforming Pontiffs; but the kingdom of God upon earth of which he dreamt was utterly impracticable, the strife between Pope and Emperor could not be ended, and all that the great monarch did was to wreck his power by subjecting 'a visionary empire to a practical Papacy.' In short, he was, despite his noble and generous ideals, merely a tool in the hands of the high church party. Henry II., who became Emperor on the death of Otto in 1002, however, is a typical example of the successful politician of the Middle Ages. His aims were small, and he contented himself with a policy of quiet aggression at home, whilst

he deliberately gave up all attempt to wield any effective power in Italy. But, by his inglorious successes, Henry II. built up again that central power which Otto III. had dissipated in the pursuit of an empty dream.

And so it is throughout the whole range of the history of this period. Denounced by one Pope as 'the most simoniac, adulterous, and sacrilegious of Kings,' excommunicated by another, it was none the less Philip the Fat, the fainéant, who laid the foundations of French greatness. Even in the Papacy, by far the most practical of mediæval institutions, the same phenomenon presents itself. The noblest figure of the age is surely Hildebrand. He appealed to no 'Donation,' but based his claims to universal suzerainty upon the inherent supremacy of things Divine. Yet, because he acted with a noble consistency, refusing all politic compromise, partly, too, because he failed to realize that the establishment of his rule of investitures would subvert the whole system of the imperial government, he died an exile from the smoking ruins of his city. Lofty and noble though his motives were, he sought an impossible ideal, which the grim practicality of the Middle Ages failed even to comprehend.

Adrian IV. is not one of the best-known Popes. The distinction usually accorded him is that of being the only Englishman who ever wore the tiara. But while it must be admitted that he was of less heroic stature than some of his contemporaries, it cannot be denied that he was essentially a man of the hour. If real greatness lies in being a true expression of an age, Adrian IV. was undoubtedly great. His policy was perhaps inconsistent, his treatment of Arnold of Brescia appears to a modern mind cruel in the extreme, his attitude to Barbarossa some would not hesitate to call treacherous,

but, for all that, England has good reason to be proud of the only son who has ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. Opposed to a mighty Emperor, in some ways the strongest since the time of Charlemagne, Adrian did not quail; girt about by enemies, he rose to still loftier heights of resistance. While he could, he avoided direct hostility, but when it was no longer possible to temporize, he prepared manfully for the struggle, and only death prevented him from hurling against his great antagonist the bolt of his anathema.

Though he had at least as high a conception of the papal dignity as any of his predecessors, Adrian yet coupled with his lofty claims a great practical wisdom, so that, as a politician, he was shrewd rather than ambitious. High-sounding alliances were rejected in favour of treaties with smaller powers who could give real assistance. The slayer of Arnold did not scruple to make common cause with the republics of North Italy when occasion arose. Fearless he was, and large-hearted, too, but his success as Pope was due, in the first place, to his English common sense.

II

EARLY LIFE

THE evidence as to the early life of Adrian IV. may be divided into two great classes. First, that of the English historians, and again, that supplied by the various *Vitæ* by Continental writers. Cardinal Aragon* preserved no fewer than three lives of the Pope, of which by far the most important is that of Cardinal Boso. Of this biographer, Ciaconius† tells us that he was created Cardinal of SS. Cosmas and Damianus in December, 1155, and that he enjoyed the great favour of Adrian, who, when doubtful of both people and Emperor, entrusted to his care the Castle of St. Angelo. That this life really is, as it professes to be, the work of a contemporary author, there is one piece of internal evidence. Mention is made of Hubald of St. Praxedis, who is described as being 'now' Bishop of Ostia, and as there is‡ evidence to show that the Cardinal received this promotion in 1159, it is clear that the *Vita* must have been written shortly afterwards; mediæval forgers would hardly have troubled about so small a detail.

As this *Vita* by Boso represents the official account of Adrian IV., it may be as well to treat it first. In

* *Vide* Muratorius, tom. ii., p. 440.

† Ciaconius, p. 459, sub *Hadrianus IV.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

marked contrast to the great detail displayed in describing the deeds of the pontificate itself, the information supplied as to the Pope's early days is meagre in the extreme. Adrian was by birth an Englishman, and came from the town of St. Alban's. A mere youth, he left home and kindred to pursue the study of letters, and went to Arles, where he entered a house of canons regular. Afterwards he became, by unanimous election, first Prior and then Abbot, and in the latter capacity he at last visited Rome upon the business of his house. Here Eugenius met him, and prevailed upon him to remain, at the same time making him Bishop of Albano.

As for the other two lives in Muratorius, they are much shorter even than that of Boso. Pandulf of Pisa* merely says that Adrian was an Englishman, and had been Bishop of Albano before he was elevated to the chair of St. Peter, but Bernard Guidonis supplies one item of new information. Nicholas, he says, before he reached the House of St. Rufus, near Valence, had been a poor clerk in the Church of St. James at Melgorium in the Diocese of Maguelonne. The diocese, which was afterwards transferred to Montpellier, is sufficiently well known; but of the Church of St. James at Melgorium there is apparently nothing recorded.† Nor does there appear to be any local tradition connecting this locality with Adrian IV. Nevertheless, Gregory IX., in describing the English Pope, uses precisely the same words with regard to his stay in Maguelonne.‡ This suggests that either Bernard Gui-

* Pandulf of Pisa was a contemporary of Alexander III.

† Eubel, in his *Hierarchia*, makes no mention of any church at Melgorium, neither does he in any way record the connexion of Adrian IV. with the district. Duchesne's *Fastes Episcopaux* says nothing of this church in describing the Diocese of Maguelonne.

‡ Gregory's account is quoted by Ciaconius in his *Vita*.

donis, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century, copied the account given by Gregory IX., or that both drew their information from the same source. Even if the latter supposition were true, however, it must be remembered that Gregory IX. wrote a hundred years after the event, and since none of the contemporary writers mention Maguelonne in connexion with Adrian IV., the story of Adrian's visit to that place can hardly be accepted as history, though there is no need definitely to reject it.

With the *Vita* already recorded, that of William of Tyre agrees in every respect, save that the House of St. Rufus is described as being at Avignon, whereas Bernard placed it near Valence. Both accounts, however, are correct; but that of William is the more accurate, for the abbey was certainly near Avignon at the time of its connexion with Adrian IV., though it was afterwards transferred to Valence in that part of Burgundy afterwards known as Dauphiné.

The evidence of the English historians is naturally much more detailed, but in no important point does it differ from that supplied by the continental writers. Both William of Newburgh and Matthew Paris have left fairly full accounts of the early history of Adrian IV., and after an examination of the evidence, it will be found that the story preserved by the former writer is the more reliable. William certainly wrote at an earlier date than the monk of St. Alban's; but, on the other hand, the work of Matthew is based upon the writings of John de Cella, and these in their turn were probably compiled from the old records of the monastery.

The fact that Matthew lived upon the spot, while William was far removed from St. Alban's—Newburgh is in Yorkshire—does not give the writings of the former

a preponderating claim upon our credence. The monk would certainly have access to the documents of the abbey, so that his account may naturally be rich in detail; but the very fact of his close connexion with St. Alban's precludes his claim to be considered as a disinterested historian. In point of date, then, and of reliability in this particular case, the two writers are almost equally situated; but the general trustworthiness of William throughout all his work compares very favourably with the obvious carelessness of Matthew, and it is therefore in the chronicler of Newburgh that the greater degree of confidence may be placed. Of this historian, indeed, an early Oxford editor remarks, 'Tam caute quam quis unquam fabulas aniles vitavit,' and this kindly criticism is fully borne out by William's treatment of the story of Adrian IV.

He mentions the Pope's history as an example of how a man may rise *de pulvere* to the highest of all positions, and then launches upon the following account: Nicholas was the son of a clerk of small means, whose father, renouncing secular life, entered the monastery of St. Alban's. Utterly destitute, and too poor to pay for education, the boy came daily to the monastery to beg, until his father, angered at his sloth, drove him away in heavy displeasure. Nicholas was now compelled to do something to obtain a livelihood, and, as he was ashamed * to dig or to beg in England, he betook himself to France. As he did not meet with good fortune in this country, he decided to cross the Rhone and come into Provence. His comely figure and handsome face procured him the favour of canons regular of St. Rufus; and since he was wise in his words, and prompt to obey their com-

* 'Ingenue erubescens' (William of Newburgh, *Historia Angli-
cana*, ii. 6).

mands, he rose in their esteem, till at last, after having been a lay brother, he was admitted to the abbey. For many years he devoted himself to study, and, being endowed with a quick intelligence, he attained to so great learning and eloquence that when the abbot died the canons at once elected the young Englishman to rule over them. Soon, however, they began to repent of their choice, partly because of the strictness displayed by Nicholas, and partly because they were annoyed at being subjected to a foreigner. Various false charges were therefore brought against the new abbot, but he, upon going to Rome to make his defence, utterly refuted the calumnies, and in so doing attracted the notice of Pope Eugenius III. by the modesty and wisdom of his vindication. The consequence was that when the unruly brothers made a second appeal to the Pontiff, they were dismissed with a stern rebuke,* and were bidden to choose another father, with whom they could, or rather would, agree, as their present ruler should no longer be a burden to them. Eugenius accordingly took the Abbot into the service of St. Peter, and soon made him Cardinal-Bishop of Albano. In this capacity the Englishman gave fresh proofs of his industry and ability, and after he had achieved great success upon a mission to Scandinavia, he became Pope under the name of Adrian IV.

The historian adds that in later days the Pope did not forget to honour with gifts the home of his youth, and that the more readily for the sake of his father's memory. This is important, for some have stated that Matthew tampered with his evidence in order to prove the close

* 'Scio fratres ubi sedes sit Sathanæ. Scio quid in vobis suscitetur procellam istam. Ite eligite vobis patrem cum quo pacem habere possitis vel potius velitis. Iste enim non sit vobis ulterius oneri' (William of Newburgh, *Historia Anglica*, ii. 6).

connexion of the Pope with the Abbey of St. Alban's, and this argument loses half its force in the light of the information supplied by William, who, though quite disinterested, emphasizes the fact of Adrian's munificence to the monastery near which he spent his boyhood. The honesty of Matthew Paris is thus to some extent vindicated, but in the account of Adrian with which he furnishes us there is one blunder which reveals the smallness of his historical sense. For, after telling * how abbot Robert ruled the house from 1151 onwards, he describes this prelate as rejecting Nicholas when the latter first desired to take orders, though such a supposition would leave a space of four years at most between the Pope's boyhood and his election to the throne of St. Peter. The truth is that as Richard, the fifteenth abbot, presided over St. Alban's from 1097 till 1119, it must have been to him that the young clerk applied for admission. Matthew, knowing that Robert was contemporaneous with the actual pontificate of Adrian, has simply confused the two names.

It was then to the abbot Richard that there came from one of the villages belonging to the monastery, Langley† by name, a clerk Nicholas 'Brekespere,' young and graceful, but by no means well taught. This youth wished to assume the monastic habit, but the abbot, upon examination, found his knowledge insufficient, and

* The story is given in the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, compiled by Thomas Walsingham in the reign of Richard II. The first twenty-three *Vita* are certainly by Matthew Paris. *Rolls Series*, vol. i., pp. 112, 113, and, again, pp. 124, 125.

† Abbot's Langley and King's Langley are villages in Hertfordshire within a mile of each other. Either, therefore, may be the Pope's birthplace. Brekespere is in the neighbouring parish of St. Michael's.

dismissed him kindly, bidding him wait till he had advanced further in his studies. Counting such a reception as a rebuff, Nicholas fled in shame to France and came to Paris, where he studied so diligently that he conquered all his fellows in learning. At length he became canon in the House of St. Rufus, near Valence, and after having been thrice sent to Rome upon the business of his house, he became Cardinal, and lastly Pope. In another passage, Matthew informs us that Nicholas was the son of a certain Robert 'de Camera,' who, after having lived an honourable life as a layman, took the cowl at St. Alban's, and begged the abbot to receive his young son as a monk. The rest of the story is the same as that already recounted save that there is no mention of any visit to Paris. Such was the Pope's love for the Church of St. Alban's, concludes the chronicler, that the brothers were able to obtain from him whatever they besought, and that without difficulty, because Nicholas's father lived as a monk in the abbey for full fifty years.*

With the account given by William of Newburgh that of Matthew appears to agree very well, but certain critics have found in the story of the latter historian various discrepancies which, in their opinion, point to a deliberate attempt on the part of the monk of St. Alban's to mislead his reader. To be brief, they argue that Nicholas was base-born, and they found their argument upon the following facts. Nicholas is at first mentioned as a certain clerk of the name of 'Brekespere,' though it afterwards appears that his father's name was Robertus de Camera. The suggestion is that Matthew, anxious to

* Matthew adds that Robertus de Camera closed an honourable life by a happy death, and that for his own merits, and for those of his son, he attained to burial in the chapel close to the tomb of Abbot Robert.

glorify the Pope, described the father as being an honourable layman before he became a monk, and in order to bear this out gave to the son the name of a local estate, so that he might appear to be by birth a country gentleman. It is also urged that the historian, though he mentions the Pope's father, says nothing of his mother, who, as appears from a letter from John of Salisbury to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, was living in 1164, apparently in great destitution.

On the other hand, however, it can be stated that William of Newburgh speaks of the Pope's father as abandoning secular life to enter the monastery, though it is true that according to him Nicholas was by no means the son of a country gentleman. But this does not necessarily involve a difference from the account of Matthew Paris. The name 'Nicholas Brekespere' only meant that the youth came from the hamlet of Brekespere, and since this is so, the fact that his father is called Robert de Camera, and not Robert Brekespere, need offer no difficulty. Possibly the father had been at one time attached to the Chancellor's staff, but of this one can only say that there is no mention of any such Robert at this period—though Madox tells us that there were minor officials in the Chancery, and that many authorities are inclined to doubt the importance of the 'Camera Curie' as a separate institution. As to the fact of his mother's poverty, it is hardly fair to argue that it proves Adrian's disrespect for her. In the first place, the Pope had been dead five years before John of Salisbury wrote the letter in question; and, again, even if he* did refuse to support his mother on the ground that he could not alienate the possessions of the Holy

* So the *Vita Hadriani IV.* in *Concilia*, Labb. et Coss., tom. x., col. 1141.

See, it must be remembered that a mediæval churchman would consider such an act all the more meritorious on the ground of its lofty self-abnegation. The argument that Matthew does not mention the lady at all is almost valueless. He tells us specifically that Robert had abandoned secular life before he came to the abbey, and if this was so, it is most unlikely that his wife had any connexion with St. Alban's. On the whole, then, though the information is far from definite, the account of Matthew must be considered true, until some more valid objections are raised against it.

There remains yet one other *Vita* to be examined—namely, that of Ciaconius. This is, of course, of very late date, but as it was possibly compiled from papal documents, and certainly represents the orthodox view as to Adrian's origin, it is worth studying. In the first place, the historian had no doubt that the Pope's name was Breakspear or 'Hastifragus'; the very coat-of-arms* with which he heads his page contains the emblem of the broken spear. On the whole, the account is that of William of Newburgh—Ciaconius, by the way, calls him Nicholas of Newburgh—but we are told that Adrian's father was named Robert, and that the Pope came from the village of Langley. Emphasis is particularly laid upon the fact that Nicholas was a legitimate son because he was born before his father became a monk; and in support of this statement Ciaconius quotes Gregory IX., who also tells us, as has been already mentioned, of the Pope's stay at the Church of St. James at Maguelonne.

* As coats-of-arms were practically unknown before the time of the Third Crusade, Nicholas's shield must have been invented some time after his death.

It is only valuable as showing the firm belief in the mind of the writer and of his authorities that Breakspear was the Pope's name.

All things considered, the various accounts are wonderfully consistent, and from them it would appear that Nicholas Breakspear, the son of a certain Robert, who had become a monk at St. Alban's, left his native village of Langley, and came to the abbey. Driven hence either by his father's anger, or by shame at his failure to receive admission, he fled to France, and after studying some time at Paris, wandered on south till he reached the Abbey of St. Rufus, then near Avignon, where, after some time, he became a canon regular. His industry led to his election as abbot, but his stern rule soon stirred the idle canons to revolt, and Nicholas was forced to go to Rome to plead his cause. His wisdom and modesty attracted the notice of Eugenius III., who, on the occasion of a second appeal, bade the turbulent brothers elect a new Abbot, and retained the Englishman in the service of St. Peter, where in 1146* he was created Cardinal-Bishop of Albano.

Such a history is not only creditable to Nicholas Breakspear, it redounds to the honour of the Roman Catholic Church; for, without means or influence, it was possible for a man to rise, as William of Newburgh says, *de pulvere* to the highest ecclesiastical position, when all the qualifications he possessed were a true heart and a wise head.

* Ciaconius, sub *Eugenius III.*, p. 443.

III

THE SCANDINAVIAN MISSION

DURING the greater part of his pontificate Eugenius III. was absent from his rebellious capital, but there is no evidence to show whether he was accompanied on his transalpine wanderings by the Bishop of Albano. All discussion, therefore, as to the preparations for the Second Crusade, the condemnation of Gilbert de la Porée, or any of the other matters which were at this time occupying the mind of the indefatigable Bernard, is out of place in an essay such as this. But one of the schemes upon which the Pope and the Abbot of Clairvaux embarked demands particular attention—namely, the great attempt they made to draw the outlying provinces into closer connexion with the capital of the Christian world. Hitherto whole countries had been separated from direct intercourse with their Holy Father by the interposition of foreign primates, and it was with a view to changing this state of affairs that two legations were despatched during this period. The first, that of the cardinal John Paparo to Ireland, left Rome in 1150. It was the direct result of a petition from the Synod of Inispatrick, whereby the Pope was besought to ratify the action of St. Malachi, who in 1139 had granted pallia to the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Cashel.

The ecclesiastical organization of the island was certainly in need of improvement. Dublin and Waterford, since 1074 and 1096 respectively, had professed obedience to Canterbury; of late, however, the Archbishop of Armagh had been inclined to assert his supremacy over the whole Irish Church. The legate was delayed by the civil war in England, so that he did not reach his destination until 1152; but, once arrived, he acted with great promptitude. In March he convoked the Synod of Kells, in which the supremacy of Canterbury was finally abolished, and the headship of the Irish Church assigned to the Archbishop of Armagh. Metropolitan sees were also established at Cashel, Tuam, and Dublin, and the diocesan and provincial organization of the island was finally completed.

Emphasis has been laid upon the condition of the Irish Church at this period, because it forms an almost exact parallel to that of Norway, the land to which Eugenius' second legation was despatched. In both countries there was politically the rule of battle-axe, and ecclesiastically the sway of a foreign primate; but the affairs of Norway were, if possible, even more involved than those of Ireland, for there the great influence which the secular power possessed in the direction of spiritual affairs added a new element of complication; for it was the kings who had brought about the conversion of Norway, and they showed themselves by no means disposed to let slip the preponderating authority they had thus secured in matters ecclesiastical.

The object of the legation of 1152 was therefore twofold. In the first place, metropolitan sees were to be established in both Norway and Sweden; while, secondly, an attempt was to be made to render the churches of these lands more independent of the civil

power. The task of the Pope's representative, therefore, was by no means easy, and the fact that the Bishop of Albano was chosen to visit Scandinavia is proof of the great favour with which the English cardinal was regarded by Eugenius. Doubtless the Pontiff considered that a legate of northern extraction would be more acceptable than an Italian to the hardy Northmen; but of this too much has been made. The resemblance between the Norse and English languages was far from being as close as has been supposed.*

As to the evidence for this part of Nicholas's career little need be said. The various *Vita* merely dwell upon the barbarity and fierceness of the peoples visited, and the diligence and energy of the Cardinal. William of Newburgh speaks† of the mission as lasting several years, while Matthew Paris does not mention it at all. The northern authorities, notably Saxo Grammaticus in the *Gesta Danorum*, are a little fuller, but on the whole the information is meagre, so that the doings of the legate are largely a matter of guesswork.

Nicholas left Rome in 1152, and, travelling by way of England, reached Norway on July 20 of that year. The situation which confronted him was somewhat discouraging. Harold Gille had been murdered in 1136, and since then his three sons, Sigurd, Eystein, and Ingi, had reigned together. Ingi, however, was a cripple, and his brothers wished to depose him, though he was in

* Dr. Robert Breyer in *Die Legation des Kardinal-Bischofs Nikolaus von Albanien in Skandinavien*, assumed that Old Norse was actually spoken at this time in some parts of England. Miss Norgate has proved his error in the *English Historical Review*, x. 351.

† 'In gentes ferocissimas Dacorum et Norrensiū cum plenitudine dērexit legatū. Quo ille officio in barbaris nationibus per annos aliquot sapienter et strenue administrato,' etc.

character far superior to both. At the moment of the legate's arrival Sigurd and Ingi were at open war. The story of their quarrel* may be given in detail as being an illustration of the terrible state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the land. The wicked noble Geirstein attempted to force the widowed Lady Gyda to become his wife. She, however, refused, and in the dissensions which followed Geirstein was slain. His sons, men as evil as himself, pursued the slayer, and when the latter had found protection with a noble named Gregorius, they obtained help from Sigurd to enable them to execute their vengeance. But the valiant Gregorius having outmatched their cunning and vanquished their might, joined himself to Ingi, and thereupon Sigurd, angered at the death of his soldiers, at once went to war with his brother. Such was the political state of Norway when Nicholas landed, but before an adequate account of his doings as legate can be given, some explanation of the ecclesiastical condition of the country prior to his visit must necessarily be undertaken.

As Münter† tells, there was only one ecclesiastical council held in Norway during the twelfth century; of its proceedings nothing is known. First-hand contemporary evidence is therefore not abundant, and while it is well known that efforts to obtain a metropolitan see were repeatedly made, there is no proof that the appeals to Rome were presented by so large a representative assembly as the Synod of Inispatrick. None the less there was an ardent desire among the Scandinavians to have an archbishop of their own, and Eugenius was redressing a long-felt grievance when he despatched the Bishop of Albano to establish metropolitans in Norway

* Torfæus, lib. ix., chap. xii.

† Münter, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, tom. ii.

and Sweden. Both these countries as well as Denmark had been originally subjected to the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen; but, since the English missionaries had played a larger part than the German in the conversion of Scandinavia, there had existed from an early date a wish to throw off this overlordship. In 1104 the importunity of Danish Kings in this matter had been rewarded by the foundation of an archiepiscopate at Lund, but this change was far from acceptable to the people of Norway and Sweden; for they were placed beneath the control of a new archbishop, who was no less a foreigner than the Bishop of Bremen, and whose authority was the more felt because he abode much nearer at hand. Lund is in the extreme south of modern Sweden. King Sigurd Magnusson, 'the Jerusalem traveller,' is said to have promised whilst in the Holy Land both the establishment of a Norwegian primacy and the introduction of tithes. This was in 1110, but the king's oath was apparently soon forgotten, for Sigurd himself afterwards acknowledged the supremacy of the Archbishop of Lund by requesting him to choose a certain Arnold as Bishop of Greenland. Later Sovereigns, however, continued the strife, and twenty years after Sigurd's death Hreidar was nominated Archbishop of Norway, though he never occupied the see, for he died as he journeyed to Rome to seek ratification from the Pope. After this manner, then, had been the contest by which the Norwegians had sought to obtain a Primate of their own. It remains to say a few words about the bishoprics. These were four in number—Nidaros (now Drontheim), Bergen, Oslo, and Stavanger—and all were on the coast, though Oslo, which stood at the head of the modern Christiania Sound, exercised its powers over a large part of the interior.

On his arrival in Norway Nicholas established himself at Nidaros, which, through its connexion with St. Olaf, was held in highest repute among the Scandinavian bishoprics. The occasion was more opportune than is at first evident, for the dissension between the brothers enabled him to combat with greater success the enormous influence which the kings of Norway had been accustomed to exercise in the affairs of the Church. The legate, with his customary wisdom, refused to do anything until the existing anarchy was ended. He took the side of Ingi, and Sigurd and Eystein were ordered to submit and do penance for their evil deeds. The brothers had no option but to obey, for they feared that if they resisted the cardinal might depart without having attempted to create the long-desired archbishopric. Peace having been thus effected, Nicholas at once set about the fulfilment of his mission. There was much to be done, for, besides creating a metropolitan see, and attacking the royal prerogative, he intended to introduce into the Norwegian Church a number of reforms which should bring her somewhat primitive institutions into closer harmony with the forms prescribed by the Canons.

Just as John Paparo chose to establish the new Primate of Ireland at Armagh, the old religious centre of the island, so did Nicholas of Albano decide that Nidaros, the town sacred to the memory of St. Olaf, should be the seat of the new Metropolitan of Norway. In the presence of the three Kings the Legate elected the then Bishop of Stavanger, Jon Birgissen, to be archbishop, at the same time creating a new bishopric at Hamar, a town due north of Oslo and well inland. To this he appointed Arnold, the Bishop of Greenland. Neither the Bull by which Nicholas nominated the archbishop, nor that by which Anastasius IV. confirmed

the appointment made by the legate, is now obtainable; but of the latter document there is still extant a copy which was sent by certain prelates to Nidaros in 1429. With this copy two Papal Bulls, one of Innocent III. in 1205 and the other of Innocent IV. in 1253, tally exactly, so that it may well be genuine. It is from this source that we learn that there were attached to the Archbishop of Nidaros the following suffragan bishoprics, eleven in all: Nidaros, Bergen, Stavanger, Oslo, and Hamar, in Norway; Skalholt and Holar, in Iceland; and the dioceses of Greenland, the Faroes, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides.

The first of the ecclesiastical reforms attempted by Nicholas appears in connexion with his foundation of the archiepiscopate at Nidaros. Hitherto the king, with the concurrence of the people and nobles, had been accustomed to make appointments to the various bishoprics himself. But on this occasion it is clear that, by virtue of his legatine authority, the Bishop of Albano himself appointed Jon Birgissen, though probably with the assent of the kings. It is therefore likely that the cardinal attempted to insist upon canonical election to all the bishoprics; and in support of such a view, the vigour with which as Pope he insisted upon obedience to the decrees of the Lateran Council* upon this matter, may be considered valuable evidence. That Nicholas did make a severe attack upon the royal privileges in these elections appears from the history of the war waged between King Sverrir and Erik, Archbishop of Nidaros, at a somewhat later date. Erik insisted that in 1152 Sigurd, Eystein, and Ingi had upon oath divested themselves of all authority in elections. And though Sverrir repudiated this contention on the ground that such a

* That of Innocent II., in 1139.

proceeding was due to the inability of the kings to agree upon one man, and had, therefore, only temporary force, he did not attempt to deny that the brothers had sworn in the manner described. But while there can be little doubt that the cardinal really struggled against royal privilege in this matter, the fact that in 1161 Ingi appointed his own chaplain to the See of Nidaros would argue that the Norwegian kings soon returned to their old ways.

From a letter of Celestine III. of March, 1196, another of the legate's efforts to free the Church from the influence of the civil power is put before us. Complaint is made that although the Bishop of Albano had attached three archdeacons to the see of Nidaros, yet judgment in clerical matters had been usurped by laymen. It would therefore appear that Nicholas had established courts for the administration of canon law, though, if we may judge from this letter, his reform was not suffered to revive. One historian* asserts that the Cardinal also obtained from the kings a total surrender of the rights to appoint the lower clergy, but of this there is no evidence save a vague statement in a papal letter that former kings are said to have freely given up this privilege. Others have supposed that the legate tried to enforce clerical celibacy, apparently from a belief that he introduced it into Sweden. In the old 'Christian Justice' of the *Eidswathingslög*, however, it is specifically stated that at funerals the place of honour must be given to the priest and his wife. The only conclusion possible, therefore, is that the innovation, if ever attempted, was rejected in a most decided manner. Norwegian accounts ascribe to Cardinal Nicholas the introduction of the impost of

* Keyser, quoted by Dr. Breyer: *Die Legation des Kardinal-Bischofs Nikolaus von Albanien in Skandinavien.*

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Peter's Pence; and the German historian Spittler* has, by an examination of the *Liber Censuum*, the book wherein is set forth the income of the Holy See, established this beyond all doubt.† Peter's Pence was unknown in Norway in 1123, but, in an edition of the *Liber* revised up to 1182 by Albinus, the tax is thus described—single houses give a gold piece of Norwegian money. Later, of the archbishopric of Nidaros and its suffragans, it is stated, 'quod singulæ domus Norvegiæ singulos dant denarios monetæ ipsius terræ'; and the same words are applied to Sweden. It appears, therefore, that Peter's Pence was introduced into Norway between the years 1123 and 1182; and as the dealings between Rome and the northern provinces were not often very intimate, it may safely be assumed that it was the cardinal Nicholas who established the impost in Scandinavia.

Hitherto the labours of the legate have had as their end the greater liberty of the Church of Norway from the secular power, and its closer connexion with the Holy See; but there are two respects in which he is known to have attempted reforms whose main object was the greater happiness of the Norwegian people. In the first place, Nicholas tried to regulate the assessment and payment of the stipends of the clergy, at the same time

* Von der ehemaligen Zenstarkheit der nördlicher Reiche an den Römischen Stuhl.

† M. Paul Fabre, in his *Études sur le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine* (p. 145 note), quotes the Bulls of Anastasius IV. (Jaffé, L. 9937, to the Swedish Bishops, and Jaffé, L. 9938, to King Sverker) as proof conclusive that Nicholas introduced Peter's-pence into Sweden. He goes on to argue that, since by the end of the twelfth century Norway paid the same tribute—'un denier par maison'—it is pretty clear that the impost was first laid upon that country by the English legate.

endeavouring to secure for them free-will offerings in addition to the annual tithe of income and the tithe of possessions which was paid once in a lifetime. The evidence for this is an order of Hakon the Old.* The second reform is only indirectly connected with ecclesiastical matters. Torfæus tells us how the legate forbade the carrying of arms in market-towns, saving only by the king's bodyguards, who were not to exceed twelve in number. The story of Gregorius, already recounted, explains the need for such an ordinance.

The cardinal had accomplished his work with remarkable celerity, for he was in Sweden by the autumn of the year of his arrival, but none the less had his efforts been crowned with success. Not only had he established the desired archbishopric and furnished it with suffragans, but he had brought Norway into a closer connexion with Rome in many other ways. For by his insistence upon canonical election, by his introduction of Peter's Pence, by his creation of archidiaconates for the administration of canon law, he had laboured to reduce to conformity with established customs of the Catholic Church the rude usages which had hitherto obtained among the Norwegians. Throughout all his reforms, opposition to the unjust usurpations made by the secular power is evident, and, writing long afterwards, Torfæus † bitterly declares that the attack made upon the royal majesty by the pride of the ecclesiastical orders took its beginning in the time of Nicholas, for he, by the weight of his legatine authority, had forced to assemble to hear his edict, not only all the chiefs, but the three kings themselves. If after the legate's

* Dr. Breyer, *Die Legation des Kardinal-Bischofs Nikolaus von Albanien in Skandinavien*.

† Lib. ix., chap. xii.

departure his innovations were soon repudiated, the fault is not his. It is true that the strife of the brothers broke out again, to end only with the death of Sigurd and Eystein at the hands of the brave Gregorius, and that the victorious Ingi, unmindful of his debt of gratitude to Nicholas, himself presumed to nominate the archbishop of Nidaros. It is true that the archdeacons' courts fell into decay. Even so, however, it cannot be denied that the legate had done a work of the highest value to the Holy See.

Apart altogether from the material advantage which accrued to the Church from the payment of Peter's Pence, he had obtained a recognition of the rights of the Holy See over the Church of Norway. The time for enforcing obedience to the whole of the canon law was not yet come; but when opportunity arose the Curia was always ready to assert claims of which the justice was already admitted, so that, henceforth, the influence of Rome steadily increased. But there is another way in which Nicholas strengthened the cords which bound the Norwegians to their Holy Father, a way as important as any other: by his kindliness and wisdom he so endeared himself to the people that he became to them 'the Good Cardinal.' Thus in the hearts of the men of Norway the idea of Rome was inextricably bound up with the memory of one who was just and prudent, and who loved them as his own sons.

As has been already stated, the legate arrived in Sweden in the autumn of 1152. Here he at once held a council at Linköping, but of its proceedings it can only be said that the accounts which survive are even more meagre than those which tell of the assembly at Nidaros. Saxo Grammaticus, however, relates that the cardinal's attempt to establish a Swedish archbishopric failed,

because the Goths and Swedes could come to no agreement either as to the person of the new metropolitan, or as to the place in which his seat was to be fixed. A recent German authority,* however, inclines to the view that the establishment of the new see was prevented by the machinations of the Archbishop of Lund, who naturally would be averse from losing so large a part of his authority. It is suggested that, whilst Nicholas was busy in Norway, Eskill of Lund had employed his time in creating in Sweden dissensions which the weak King Sverker could not quell. Saxo himself tells us that after the Council of Linköping the legate visited Eskill, to mollify him for the curtailment of his see, and to make him consent to the creation of a Swedish archbishopric. That the barbarity and quarrels of the people of Sweden are not sufficient cause of the legate's failure is easily seen, Dr. Breyer argues, from the fact of his success in Norway, a country in the same state of civil and ecclesiastical anarchy.

Against such a view it may be urged that in after-days Eskill of Lund continued to enjoy the friendship of Nicholas, though no Swedish Archbishop was appointed till 1163. This makes it unlikely that the Danish Primate had been responsible for the untimely quarrels of the Goths and Swedes which prevented the execution of the Legate's design. Again, the parallel between Norway and Sweden is by no means exact. In the former country the jealousy was between three kings of one blood, whereas in Sweden it was two distinct races which were unable to agree; thus, whilst the legate could persuade Sigurd, Eystein, and Ingi to

* Dr. Breyer, *Die Legation des Kardinal-Bischofs Nikolaus von Albanien in Skandinavien*.

accept his decision, it was useless for him to attempt to coerce whole tribes.

Sweden was at this time parted into two well-marked divisions. In the south dwelt the Goths, and it was here, round the centre of Skara, that the new religion was strongest. The Swedes proper, who lived to the north, were but recent converts, for the eleventh century was drawing to its close before the heathen temple at Upsala was destroyed by Ingi the Goth. It is therefore no cause for surprise that two peoples who had so little in common should be in a state of perpetual friction, nor is it at all unlikely that the legate's attempt to create an archbishopric raised the partisans of both Skara and Upsala to a state of mutual hostility, which far surpassed in bitterness even the rivalry of the Norwegian kings. There is yet another point of difference between the two countries in question. Nidaros, as the shrine of St. Olaf, was naturally marked out as the seat of the new metropolitan; but in Sweden there was no such ecclesiastical centre, so that, even if there had been no racial dissensions, the position of the legate as arbitrator of the claims of the various bishoprics would still have been difficult. It is therefore unnecessary to assume that the failure of Nicholas to establish a Swedish archbishopric was due to the efforts of Eskill of Lund, though it is quite possible that that prelate did act in the manner suggested by Dr. Breyer.

As for the other doings of the legate in the *Concilium* of Linköping, little is known.* But it appears that he achieved reforms of much the same nature as those already executed at Nidaros. As to the improved

* 'De libertate ecclesiarum, matrimonio, armis non portandis, et aliis ad salutem populi spectantibus' (Saxo Gram.).

regulations *de matrimonio*, these need not necessarily refer to the introduction of celibacy of the clergy. The ordinary laws of marriage in Sweden were very lax, and it is more than likely that Nicholas endeavoured to improve them. That Peter's Pence was introduced by Nicholas there can be no doubt, as Anastasius IV., in his letter of November 28, 1154, specifically mentions the annual 'census' promised to St. Peter. Some have seen in the particularly mild system of tithes enjoyed by Sweden, fresh evidence of the kindly bishop's handiwork, but the supposition that Nicholas took part in such a reform rests upon no evidence.

The cardinal had succeeded in introducing some ecclesiastical reforms, and chiefly by the introduction of Peter's-pence had brought Sweden into closer touch with the Church at Rome, but he had been quite unsuccessful in his endeavour to establish a metropolitan see. As under the existing circumstances the erection of the desired archbishopric had become an impossibility, he abandoned the idea altogether, and left for the kingdom of Denmark. Here he stayed with Eskill for some time, according to Dr. Breyer, because he was awaiting the instructions of the Curia with regard to the disposal of the 'pallium,' which had been denied to Sweden. As, however, Anastasius afterwards refused to acquiesce in the arrangement at which Nicholas and Eskill had arrived — namely, that the latter should bestow the 'pallium' upon the man eventually chosen by the Goths and Swedes—the only possible conclusion is that the legate did not act with consent from Rome. It would, therefore, appear that the reason of the bishop's delay was, as Saxo asserts, that it was too late in the year for a sea-voyage.

The last act which is recorded of Nicholas in Denmark

is that he attempted to dissuade King Sweyn from a meditated attack upon Sweden. The legate urged that the risk was great and the chance of profit small. The Danish monarch, however, while listening with deference to the cardinal, refused to abandon his scheme, and the wisdom of Nicholas's advice was amply proved by the complete failure of the expedition.*

As to the route by which Nicholas returned to Rome, as well as to the date of his arrival there, we have no information. That the legate returned between July 8 and November 28, 1153, is quite obvious; for Eugenius III. had died before the Cardinal reappeared in the city, and the date November 28 is affixed to two letters in which Anastasius mentions the good service done by Nicholas, who has just come back from his mission. One of these letters is to Sverker and the Swedish chiefs, who are exhorted to obey the commands laid upon them by the Bishop of Albano, especially with regard to the payment of Peter's Pence. The other, which is directed to the Bishops of Sweden, states that the Pope was pleased to hear from Nicholas of the progress which religion had made amongst them. They are urged to keep their people in obedience to the Church of Rome, and are given Anastasius's word that he will not send any legates but such as will respect the rights of the Norwegian clergy. Two days later Anastasius confirmed to the Church of Nidaros its metropolitan rights, but there is no mention of any ratification of the privileges granted by the cardinal to Eskill of Lund.†

On December 3 Anastasius died, and on the follow-

* Sverker lured the invaders into the wilds of Finland, where, by a surprise attack, he completely annihilated their army.

† Hadrian himself afterwards granted the ratification.

ing day, thirty-two Cardinals * chose as his successor Nicholas, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano, who assumed the tiara as Adrian IV. Doubtless the prestige gained by the Englishman upon his mission to Scandinavia was, to a large extent, responsible for the honour conferred upon him. For it was a great work which Nicholas had done; in spite of some failures, he had mightily vindicated the name of Rome in Scandinavia. He had founded a metropolitan see, he had established Peter's Pence, he had waged a vigorous war against secular usurpation. But, apart from benefiting the Church of St. Peter, he had honestly striven to ameliorate the condition of both the clergy and the people of Scandinavia, so that he obtained their love as well as their reverence.

Snorro relates that no foreigner ever came to Norway who gained as much public honour and deference among the people as did Nicholas Breakspear. When, loaded with their gifts, he took his departure, he promised eternal friendship to the country, and as Pope he showed himself not unmindful of his word; for not only did he treat with the greatest attention all Norwegians who came to see him, but he had sent from England artificers to build the cathedral and convent of his foundation at Hamar. Years after the bright and fickle South had forgotten its valiant Pope, the dark true North remembered the kindly legate, for his fame was recorded not in books, but in the hearts of men.

* Ciaconius, *Vita Hadriani IV.* The historian gives no authority for this number, but names thirty-two Cardinals (five Bishops, nineteen presbyters, and eight deacons) as living at the time of Adrian's accession. Of several of these Jaffé, in his *Regesta*, makes no mention. He, however, only includes those who signed papal bulls, and therefore omits several well-known personages, including Roland himself, so that the list of Ciaconius may be accurate enough. Even so there is no proof that all the thirty-two took part in the election.

IV

THE STATE OF ITALY AT THE TIME OF ADRIAN'S ACCESSION

NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR mounted the pontifical throne on December 4, 1154, and, as William of Newburgh says, 'mutans nomen cum omine,' he elected to be called Adrian IV. As the brief pontificate of Nicholas II. had witnessed a great increase of the papal power,* it must be assumed that the historian's slighting reference is directed against the first Nicholas, in whose time had occurred the final separation of the Orthodox East from the Catholic West. The new pope had been elected, not, as William of Tyre represents, by the cardinals and the people, but by the cardinals only; for, since the Lateran Council of 1059, the Roman populace had been excluded from any share in the election of their bishop. Boso states that Nicholas received the tiara much against his will,† but there is no need to pay great attention to such an assertion. For if that historian thought, as he probably did, that such a display of

* Notably in three respects :

1. The right to elect the Pope was vested in the College of Cardinals, 1059.
2. An alliance was formed between the Holy See and the Normans of Southern Italy, 1059.
3. Lombardy was subjected to the Papal authority, 1059.

† 'Invitum et renitentem' (Cardinal Boso in *Vita*).

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modesty well became a man raised from the lowest position to St. Peter's chair, he would not hesitate to tamper slightly with the truth. The whole life of Adrian IV. goes to prove that he accepted his call as coming from on high, and put his whole heart into his efforts to maintain and exalt the papal dignity, doubtless believing, as did his biographer, that '*non sine divini dispositione consilii*' had he been elected Pope. Even so, however, the brave cardinal may well have shrunk from assuming a position of such tremendous responsibility when he considered the many difficulties which must present themselves to a new Pontiff from the very moment of his accession.

The whole Catholic Church was in a most unsatisfactory state. The great crusade, in which both the German Emperor and the King of France had joined, had ended in complete failure; the intellectual revival which had marked the beginning of the century, had given birth to many strange heresies, and Bernard of Clairvaux, the great pillar of orthodoxy, was dead. While the power of the Papacy was thus upon the decline, that of the Empire was meanwhile rising with renewed vigour; for, beyond the Alps, there had succeeded to the German throne Frederick Barbarossa, a man brilliant alike as warrior and statesman, and one who would abate not a whit any of the claims which his predecessors had urged. He held, indeed, that the Empire to which he aspired was, like the Papacy, of Divine institution, and, consequently, in feudal phraseology, held of God alone. It is true that he was for the moment in alliance with the Curia: by the Treaty of Constance, which in 1153 he had made with Eugenius III., he had undertaken to make no peace with Roger of Sicily without the Pope's consent, and

had agreed to reduce the rebellious Romans to the obedience of their Holy Father. In return for these services he had received a promise of the imperial crown and the steady support of the Papacy. But in spite of his pledges, Barbarossa had shown himself by no means prompt in coming to the rescue of the distressed Pontiffs, so that it might well be suspected that the safety of the Holy See was, for the German king, a matter of secondary importance only. At the moment of Adrian's accession, however, he had already been two months in Italy, having crossed the Brenner in the October of 1154.

Upon the advance of this great monarch the Pope could not but look with apprehension, for, since the day of Gregory VII., the Church had contended for absolute supremacy over the whole world, inasmuch as things temporal are naturally inferior to things spiritual. Such a claim Frederick, with his high imperial notions, would be by no means disposed to admit, and a quarrel between the rival powers appeared, therefore, to be almost inevitable. Idealist though he was, the new German King was no vain dreamer like Otto III. He was prepared to carry out his designs by force if need be, and the destruction of Tortona showed very clearly what would be the fate of those who dared to offer resistance.

But apart altogether from the danger which threatened from the North, the dominion of the Papacy was seriously assailed in Rome itself. The intellectual heresies, of which mention has already been made, had of late begun to assume a most threatening aspect. The greatest exponent of the new philosophy, Abailard, had appealed to men's minds only, but his disciple, Arnold of Brescia, brought the spirit of critical speculation into the sphere of practical politics, and put himself at the head of a move-

ment which was not only popular, but absolutely democratic. Men were beginning to understand that the wealthy monks, clad in fine raiment and living in luxury, were not in any way fulfilling their spiritual duties. It was now remembered that their vows demanded an apostolic poverty, and the time-honoured argument that the riches which the monastic orders possessed were not their own, but belonged to God, was at last seen to be a mere quibble, and accordingly dismissed. St. Bernard himself had been compelled to denounce this unspiritual hierarchy by actual word of mouth, as well as by the example of asceticism shown by himself and his followers; but while the mediæval Church united to acclaim the Abbot of Clairvaux as a saint, no attempt was made to follow where he led. The natural result was that against the existing ecclesiastical order there arose a fiercer antagonist who believed that only by a complete revolution could the world be set to rights.

Arnold was born at Brescia in Lombardy. Of his early life nothing is known save that he crossed the Alps to become a pupil of Abailard, and after his return to Italy assumed the religious habit, according to a German chronicler,* in order to deceive the more readily. It was in his native town, then under the rule of Bishop Manfred, a strict but ambitious and worldly prelate, that Arnold first began to preach his revolutionary doctrines, asserting that clergy holding property, bishops with temporalities, and monks with any possessions at all, could by no means be saved." The populace listened with a wild ardour—St. Bernard himself pays tribute to

* Otto of Freisingen, *Gesta Friderici*, lib. ii., cap. xxviii. : 'Religiosum habitum quo amplius decipere posset, induit, omnia lacerans, omnia rodens, nemini parcens.'

the demagogue's eloquence*—and all the Lombard cities were soon aflame with the seditious doctrine. The nobles, however, joined with the bishops against the expounder of a teaching so subversive of the whole order of society, and at the Lateran Council, in 1139, Arnold was accused by the bishop and higher clergy of Brescia of the worst kind of schism. He was found guilty, condemned to silence, and exiled from Italy. Once more he crossed the Alps and came to Paris, where even after Abailard had entered Clugny, he continued to promulgate his pernicious opinions to a band of poor scholars.

The relentless hate of Bernard, however, hounded him on through France and Germany, † till at last he reached Zurich, as Otto of Freisingen relates. Here, however, he was not allowed to rest, for his cruel persecutor wrote a violent letter to the Bishop of Constance, urging his immediate ejection from the diocese. For five years nothing more is heard of him, but shortly ^{after} before the death of Innocent II. he reappeared in Rome, and became the ardent supporter of the new republic which had of late restored the Senate, thrown off its allegiance to the Pope, and begged the Emperor to come and rule in Italy as a second Justinian. After Arnold's arrival in the city, however, the ideal republic began to come into

* Bernard, *Epist.*, 195: 'Lingua ejus gladius acutus, molliti sunt sermones ejus sicut oleum et ipsa sunt jacula: allicit blandis sermonibus.'

† In a paper in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy, 1873, Giesebrecht proved that the Cardinal Guido of Castello, afterwards Celestine II., was in Rome all this time. The popular notion, then, that this Guido was the legate in Germany to whom Bernard so bitterly denounced Arnold, is now seen to be false. The writer shows that, of the four Cardinals named Guido, only one was in Germany, and it must, therefore, have been with him at Passau that the arch-heretic found a temporary refuge.

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being. No longer was there any mention of bowing beneath the imperial sway, but all the temporal power was placed in the hands of a Patrician, whom the Senate and people elected in the Capitol. The Pope was warned that henceforth his authority would be purely spiritual, and that, renouncing all his temporalities, he must for the future rest content with tithes and free-will offerings. To such an arrangement Lucius II., who had succeeded Celestine II., at once refused to agree. He declared war upon his rebellious citizens, and bravely attacked the Capitol, but was killed by a stone as he led his soldiers to the storm. During the pontificate of the gentle Eugenius III., the constitution of the rising republic received a definite form. Patrician families, an equestrian order, tribunes of the people, all were recreated, and soon the Pope was compelled to abandon his capital and retire to France. Thence returning in 1148, he established himself at St. Peter's, and by his mildness, generosity, and charity began to supplant Arnold in the hearts of the fickle citizens.

At the time of Adrian's succession, therefore, the power of the republic was perhaps slightly upon the wane, but it was still by far the strongest force in Rome. Moreover, the arch-heretic Arnold himself remained in the city, 'a very wolf in sheep's clothing,'* and, secure in the favour of some perverse partisans, of the Senate in particular, continued to scatter the poison of his false doctrine and to lead the minds of the foolish far from the way of truth. †

There remains to consider one other important element

* 'Sub ovina pelle lupum gerens' (Otto of Freisingen, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxviii.).

† 'Erroris sui venena disseminans mentes simplicium a via veritatis subvertere conabatur' (Boso in *Vita*).

in the politics of Italy at this period. Under the wise and sympathetic rule of Roger II., the kingdom of Sicily had become a great and flourishing state in which Greeks and Saracens were all suffered to live under their own laws, though beneath the sway of a strong, centralized despotism. Although he had at first supported the Antipope Anacletus, the Sicilian King had been on the whole a faithful, if somewhat turbulent, ally of the Papacy. In 1137 Innocent and Lothaire had vigorously attacked him and driven him from Apulia, which they proposed to give to Reginald, a great baron of that region. Pope and Emperor, however, quarrelled as to who should invest the new duke with his office, and though the matter was compromised, all effective operations against Roger came to an end. Two years later Innocent was again provoked to arms, but the papal forces were no match for the veterans of Roger's array, and soon the Pope, shut up in San Germano, was compelled to surrender himself as prisoner. The victor, however, was too politic to abuse his triumph, and by the Treaty of Mignano, the friendly relations which had existed since Hildebrand's day were once more established. Roger performed homage for Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and in return Innocent gave to his kingdom in South Italy a definite legalization.

After this the rapid growth of the Sicilian power had been a source of alarm to Popes and Emperors alike, and in the March of 1153, Eugenius III. made with Frederick that Treaty of Constance to which reference has already been made. To the German monarch this alliance was doubtless the more acceptable because he was already pledged to attack the King of Sicily. At a diet held at Wurzburg in the July of 1152, Robert, Prince of Capua, and certain nobles of Apulia made their appearance, and

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begged Frederick to restore to them their estates which Roger had seized and incorporated in his South Italian realm. The King took pity upon their distress, and it was, according to Otto,* as much on their behalf as for the sake of the Imperial Crown, that he swore to cross the Alps before two years were out.

The Treaty of Constance naturally put an end to the friendship which had hitherto existed between the Curia and Normans of Southern Italy; but, luckily for the Holy See, the vigorous Roger died in 1154, and his son William, who succeeded to the Sicilian throne, proved to be a lethargic and careless ruler. No immediate disaster ensued, therefore; but, none the less, the position of the Papacy was enormously weakened by the quarrel with the Normans, for severance from them involved the loss of the one ally by whose aid the Roman Pontiff could hope to offer effective resistance to the advancing German, should the intentions of the latter prove to be otherwise than amicable.

Rome, therefore, against which a Teutonic host was about to advance, was not only in a state of internal tumult; it was in constant dread of a rear attack from the Sicilian King. In such a juncture there was need of a man both wise and brave to direct the affairs of the Holy See, and the fact that the cardinals, in the face of the crisis which now presented itself, elected Nicholas of Albano to the chair of St. Peter is the most eloquent tribute possible to the high esteem to which his merits had exalted the poor scholar whom St. Alban's had not deigned to receive.

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. vii.

V

BARBAROSSA

FROM the very moment of Adrian's succession events began to move with extraordinary rapidity. The new Pontiff was called upon to face at one and the same time the whole of the three powers whose history has been briefly sketched in the preceding chapter. In all probability it was the Normans with whom he first came into contact, for we read that King William,* as soon as he heard that the Bishop of Albano was become Pope, despatched an embassy to the Holy City in the hope of obtaining peace. Adrian, however, refused to come to terms with the Sicilian, doubtless because he considered himself bound by the agreement which Eugenius III. had made with Barbarossa some eighteen months previously.

Yet it was not long before advances were made to the German King, to treat with whom the Pope despatched a legation within a month of his election. Nothing is known as to the object of this mission, as the only information concerning it is that supplied by a letter which Adrian wrote to Wibbald,† Abbot of Stablo and Corvey, commending to his care the cardinals Cencius

* Romuald of Salerno, *Annales*, Pertz., *M.G.H.*, xix., 428.

† Wibbald's correspondence is of great interest and variety. It includes letters to and from Manuel, the Eastern Emperor, with regard to the Emperor's wedding.

of Porto, Bernard of St. Clement, and Octavian of St. Cecilia, who are stated to be engaged upon a mission to Frederick. It is, however, likely that the ambassadors were sent with a view to discovering the intentions of the monarch, and to inform him of the danger of the Papacy from the hostile Normans and the rebellious citizens. Of the negotiations which ensued there is no recorded result, and before they can have proceeded far the Pope was called upon to abandon diplomacy for the time in order to face a grave danger in Rome itself.

In spite of all efforts to dislodge him, Arnold of Brescia more than held his own against the papal authority, which he now attacked by open violence as well as by secret plots. Adrian had apparently declined to follow Eugenius' example of accepting the new constitution of the city, for, from the beginning of his pontificate, any moderation which the popular party had hitherto exhibited was finally cast aside. The palaces of the cardinals and of those Roman nobles who had remained faithful to the Pope were destroyed, and the climax was reached when the Cardinal of San Pudenziana was mortally wounded on the Via Sacra, while on his way to visit the Pope at the Vatican. Adrian showed his firmness by at once putting the city under an interdict. Ecclesiastical terrors had lost much of their power over the Romans, but never before had the imperial city been subjected to so severe a chastisement, and the very forms with which the abrogation of all the holy rites was signified were in themselves sufficiently alarming. 'It was usually announced at midnight by the funeral toll of the church bells, whereupon the entire clergy might be seen issuing forth in silent procession to put up a last prayer of deprecation before the altars of the guilty community. The crucifixes and other sacred emblems were veiled up,

the relics of the saints were carried down into the crypts. Every memento of holy cheerfulness and peace was withdrawn from view. Lastly, a papal legate ascended the steps of the high altar, arrayed in penitential vestment, and formally pronounced the interdict. From that moment Divine service ceased in all the churches. Their doors were locked up, and only in the bare porch might the priest, decked in mourning, exhort his flock to repentance. . . . Baptism was administered in secret, marriage was celebrated before the tomb instead of the altar. The administration of confession and communion was forbidden. To the dying man alone might the viaticum which the priest had first blessed in the gloom and solitude of the morning be given, but extreme unction and burial in holy ground were denied him.*

Still, against a people who had seen so much of the anathema and counter-anathema of rival Popes, amongst whom the death of Lucius II. at their hand had produced no feeling of pious remorse, the bold action of Adrian might have been but of little avail had it appealed solely to their religious dread. Easter, however, was approaching, and from all the civilized world there would soon gather to Rome the multitude of pilgrims whose arrival meant much gain to the townsmen. Into a city under interdict these would not enter, and, fearful of losing their profits, the populace joined with the clergy in urging the Senate to yield to the Pope, who would accept no lower terms than the banishment of Arnold and the complete renunciation of the republican institutions. After a short struggle the Senate gave way. The arch-heretic was cast forth, and on the Thursday before Easter† the interdict was withdrawn. Then the Pope

* Richard Raby, in *Pope Adrian IV.*

† 'Die coenæ Domini' (Boso in *Vita*). In 1155 this would be March 23.

with the bishops and cardinals, accompanied by a great crowd of nobles and citizens, advanced from the Leonine City and came joyfully to the Lateran, where he celebrated the Divine mystery on the Saturday preceding Easter, Holy Sunday, Easter Day,* and the three following weekdays.

Meanwhile William of Sicily had 'insolently erected his horn.'† Frederick had sent an embassy to the Greek Emperor Manuel to decide as to the best way of attacking this 'invador' of both empires, but the bold Norman was little moved by the mighty coalition which was thus made against him. He had, in spite of general disapproval, appointed one Mayo, an obscure citizen of Bari, to the post of Grand Admiral, and with this man he remained quietly in Sicily until the beginning of Lent. He then crossed to the mainland and remained over Easter at Salerno. When the Pope heard of his arrival he sent Cardinal Henry of St. Nereus and Achilles upon a peaceful errand, but because in the letters which he bore William was styled Lord of Sicily, and not king, the envoy was refused admission to the royal presence. Romuald, whose account has here been followed, mentions that the Pope and Curia were much disturbed, but says nothing of the excommunication which was pronounced against the contumacious Sicilian about this time.‡ The careless monarch, though he

* March 27. † 'Procaciter cornua erexit' (Boso in *Vita*).

‡ The actual date of the excommunication is somewhat uncertain. Boso places it after the burning of Babuco, but that would mean that the whole campaign was finished before William had any cause to begin it. The *Vita* in the Concilia of Labb. et Coss. assigns the excommunication to the refusal to see the Legate and to the seizure of his letters, as well as to the fact that William had appropriated some of the Church property. This account is more likely to be correct, as it would better account for the disaffection of the Apulian barons.¶

now saw arrayed against him, besides the two Emperors, the authority of the Pope, was still apparently quite undisturbed, for, leaving Apulia in the charge of his Chancellor Setinus or Anscotinus, the Archdeacon of Catana, he retired with his 'Ammiratus' to Sicily.

Anscotinus, however, made a vigorous attack upon Campania and burnt Ceperana on May 30. Two days later the Papal territory was invaded, and Babuca was given to the flames upon June 3.* The Sicilian army, however, though it destroyed the walls of some of the small towns and ejected the monks from several monasteries, retired from Tuderia without making any attempt upon Rome, possibly because warned of the near approach of the German army. For Frederick Barbarossa was now close to Rome, and to this cause must be attributed the fact that the Sicilians had met with no resistance from Adrian IV. Since the middle of May he had been, as will shortly be shown, well to the north of Rome, and his anxiety to meet the advance of the mightiest monarch of Western Europe will easily account for his failure to oppose the incursions which devastated the extreme south of his dominions.

In the November of 1155 Frederick had held a diet at Roncaglia, where renewed† complaints were made by the men of Lodi against the tyranny of the Milanese. The German king was by no means unwilling to seize hold of this pretext for declaring war upon the great league of which this city was the head, as the spirit of independence which had spread through the whole of Lombardy was extremely distasteful to his imperial mind. He refrained, however, from making an attempt

* *Chron. Nova Fossa, apud Watterich.*

† The men of Lodi had previously denounced their enemies to the Emperor at the Diet of Constance, March, 1153.

upon Milan itself, perhaps because he did not feel sufficiently strong, for his army, though it was led by the most distinguished warriors of his realm—Otto of Wittelsbach and Henry the Lion—was not, apparently, very numerous. The German host, therefore, while avoiding a direct attack upon the city, swept across the outlying territory, as Sismondi says, ‘*comme une trombe funeste*,’ and reduced several of the frontier castles *en route*. Tortona, which had nobly refused to renounce her treaty with discredited Milan, was next besieged;* but so stout a resistance did her citizens offer, that sixty-two days elapsed before scarcity of water compelled them to capitulate. It was, therefore, April before Frederick was free to march to Pavia, a town which had, as usual, proved a firm ally of the imperial party. There, upon the third† Sunday after Easter (April 17), he received the ‘Iron Crown’ in the Church of St. Michael, hard by the ancient palace of the North Italian Kings. Lombardy was by no means crushed, but Barbarossa, warned by the long resistance of Tortona, did not attempt any further measures of repression. His prime object in crossing the Alps had been to secure the imperial Crown, and he felt that his march on Rome must be no longer delayed. He accordingly started south by way of Bologna,‡ and advanced towards the Holy City with a speed which has been remarked by both William of Tyre and Cardinal Boso. At San Quirico, in Tuscany, the King encountered a legation from the Pope, consisting of the Cardinals SS. John and Paul, San Pudenziana, and St. Mary in Porticu.

* The siege was begun on February 13, at the urgent instance of the men of Pavia.

† ‘*Ea dominica qua Iubilare canitur*’ (Ottonis, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxvii.).

‡ Here he kept his Feast of Pentecost, May 15.

Of the terms which these ambassadors proposed there is no record, but their real object was, in all probability, merely to sound the feelings of the German monarch with regard to the Pope, for Adrian's movements at this stage seem to indicate that he was by no means convinced of the good intentions of this mighty potentate. He left Rome at the beginning of May, and by the 16th he had established himself at Sutri. It was from here, and not from Viterbo,* that the Cardinals were despatched, for a letter, which on June 1 the Pope directed to Wibbald,† shows that he had not yet advanced from the first-named town. It is true that Adrian was at Viterbo on the 4th of the month, but this date is too late for the departure of a legation which reached San Quirico and returned again by the 8th. The Pope had left Sutri on an attempt to reach Orvieto, a strong town in the extreme north-east of the domain of the Holy See, but the rapid advance of the German army prevented the accomplishment of his design, and he accordingly fell back upon Civita Castellana, a fortress almost due north of Nepi, and not far from the right bank of the Tiber; here he waited in order to ascertain the result of his legation. In the meantime, however, Frederick had despatched the Archbishop of Cologne and Ravenna with a message of peace, which they, owing to Adrian's rapid and erratic movements, were for some time unable to deliver.

As being, therefore, uncertain of the course which the Pontiff intended to take, Barbarossa refused to come to definite terms with the cardinals until the return of his own ambassadors, but meanwhile he gave them an earnest

* Boso describes the legation as despatched from Viterbo.

† The abbot is commended for the zeal for the Holy Church which he had shown in the past, and again the legates are entrusted to his care (*Ep.* 430).

of his goodwill by delivering into their hands Arnold of Brescia, of whose doings the Legates had probably complained.* Driven from Rome at the time of the interdict, the arch-heretic had retired to Otricoli, in Tuscany, where he was honoured as a prophet in his own country.† Here he had been arrested by the Cardinal Gerard of St. Nicholas, but certain local nobles, who doubtless strongly favoured the idea of stripping the Holy See of its temporal possessions, had at once come to his aid and rescued him from his captivity. Anxious to secure the Pope's support, Frederick sent his officers against the presumptuous nobles, and soon terrified them into surrendering their protégé, who was promptly sent to Rome in the hands of the three cardinals. Here the great apostle of liberty was executed by Peter, the Prefect of the city, and his ashes were scattered upon the Tiber, lest the perverse multitude should come to worship the relics of one whom they regarded as the martyr of their cause. A certain amount of mystery hangs over the fate of Arnold, and this has been greatly deepened by the endeavours made by several writers to use this summary execution as a proof of the villainy of the papal party.

M. de Sismondi ‡ gives a picturesque but quite fanciful account of the burning of the heretic in the place of public executions. He tells how in the early morning

* So Boso. Otto of Freisingen mentions Adrian as complaining in person at Viterbo, but his account here is most untrustworthy, as he omits all mention of the legation to San Quirico and of the quarrel which afterwards occurred at Nepi.

† 'Tanquam prophetam in terra sua' (Boso in *Vita*). This phrase has usually been taken to mean that Arnold received a kind welcome in Tuscany. It is however, quite likely that the papal biographer is indulging in a grim jest. It was not long before the heretic was arrested.

‡ *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, tom. ii., p. 65.

the City Prefect ('officier élu par le Pontife') left the Castle of St. Angelo, and conducted his prisoner to the stake prepared for him. In touching language he describes the last look which the martyr cast upon the city for which he had given his all, only to see it wrapt in a heedless sleep. Roused by the flames, the Romans valiantly attempted to rescue their hero, but they were too late, and even when they sought to collect the ashes of the dead they were ruthlessly beaten back by the papal guards. According to M. de Sismondi, Adrian did not start for Viterbo till after this execution. Other writers have attempted to exculpate the Pope from the guilt of Arnold's death by proving that he could not have been in Rome at this time, as his Bulls show most distinctly that he never entered the city between May 16, 1155, and the November of the succeeding year, with the exception of his brief visit on the occasion of Frederick's coronation.

It is further asserted that there is no evidence to show that the heretic * was burnt alive. He was merely hanged, though his body was afterwards burnt, lest the superstition of the populace should turn it into a sacred emblem of liberty. One writer,† basing his contention upon the words of Otto,‡ has even gone so far as to state that the Pope is in no wise to blame for Arnold's death, as he had fully intended to hold a formal trial, and would have done so had not the city Prefect, acting upon his own authority, himself determined upon a summary execution. Against such a view it may be urged that Peter, the Prefect of the city, was, without doubt, deep in

* 'Ligno Adactus' (Otto of Freisingen, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxviii.).

† Mr. Raby.

‡ 'Principis examini reservatus est' (*Gesta. Frid.*, *ibid.*).

Adrian's counsels,* and that he was therefore most unlikely to act in ignorance of the Pontiff's intention. Moreover, according to one account†—late, it is true, but valuable as representing the orthodox view in the matter—the Prefect acted by the Pope's request. It is, however, quite a mistake to make the complicity or innocence of Adrian in this matter in any way a criterion of his character.

To later ages the execution of Arnold can hardly appear otherwise than a crime, and naturally so, since much of what he taught is now universally believed, but to the Middle Ages the great republican was a dangerous heretic, and therefore one whose hanging or burning would be an act of pious devotion. It is, in consequence, useless to trace the close analogy between Arnold and his fierce enemy, St. Bernard. Both lived pure, well-ordered, ascetic lives; both strove to make the Church the real representative of Christian virtue. The difference between them is that, while the Abbot of Clairvaux became the most prominent champion of the authority of Rome, the monk of Brescia fearlessly put himself into direct opposition to the Church's claim to wield a secular power. Apart, therefore, from his political crimes—he had attacked the whole of the existing social order—which alone were sufficient to justify his execution according to the notions of that grim age, Arnold had laid himself open to a grave charge of heresy, for he had denounced that temporal authority of the spiritual body which, since the day of Hildebrand, had become one of the most sacred tenets of the Roman Church. Adrian then was acting in accordance with the usual custom, even

* Boso mentions that Adrian consulted with Peter as to the sending of the legation, which eventually met Frederick at San Quirico.

† *Vita Hadriani IV.* (Concilia, Labb. et Coss.).

if he ordered the City Prefect to burn this disturber of the world's peace. Arnold himself was probably well aware that short would be his shrift if once he fell into the hands of his enemies. It is his persistence in teaching what he held to be the truth, in the face of almost certain death, that has made men reverence him as the martyr of his cause.

Meanwhile, Frederick's ambassadors had at last found the Pope at Civita Castellana, and had assured him of the goodwill of their master towards the Holy Roman Church. Accordingly the two archbishops, accompanied by the three cardinals of the previous legation, returned to the German king, who had by this time reached Viterbo. Here they found the Cardinal Octavian of St. Cecilia, who afterwards became Pope, or rather, Antipope, under the title of Victor IV. This man, who had come not at Adrian's command, but of his own free will, attempted to discredit the cardinals in the council which they held to discuss their master's demands.* His arguments, however, were soon overthrown by the papal embassy, and he retired, as well he might, clad in his own confusion.†

The fact is that, even did he wish to do so, Barbarossa could not afford to quarrel with the Pope, for he was not yet crowned Emperor. He therefore determined to give the cardinals a striking proof of his sincerity. In the presence of the Pope's legates he caused to assemble his chiefs and his soldiery. The sacred emblems of the Cross and the Gospels were brought, and

* 'Quod hauserat virus evomere cœpit' (Boso in *Vita*). Boso evidently regards Octavian as being, from the beginning, the Pope's bitter enemy. The cardinal was, however, subsequently employed by Adrian on several delicate missions, so that the biographer, perhaps, antedates his defection.

† 'Sicut dignus erat, multa confusione respersus' (Boso in *Vita*).

upon these, as well as upon his own life and that of the king, a certain knight, elected by the rest, swore to serve Adrian, to defend him from robbery and injury, to take a heavy vengeance upon all who tried to harm him, and to abide by the concord thus established between Pope and Emperor.

The three cardinals then returned to their master, who, upon hearing their report, declared himself in favour of a personal interview, and showed a disposition to delay no further in granting the imperial crown to Frederick, of whose good intentions he no longer entertained any doubts. Adrian accordingly advanced to Nepi, where he was quite close to the German army, which had now halted in the Campo Grasso near Sutri. On the next day, June 9, a multitude of clergy and laity came forth to meet the Pope and conducted him joyfully to the king's tent, where he waited until Frederick should perform the office of groom for him, by holding the stirrup whilst he dismounted. The haughty monarch, however, at all times determined to insist upon the dignity of the empire, refused to perform so menial a task, and as Adrian was equally resolute to claim all the reverence which had been accorded to his predecessors in St. Peter's throne, an open rupture seemed imminent. Terrified by this unexpected dissension, the cardinals fled hastily to Castellana, but the Pope himself bravely remained in the midst of the camp, and when the king still refused to accede to his request, quietly dismounted and took the seat prepared for him.

If Frederick imagined that he had gained anything by this display of firmness he was quickly undeceived, for, though he duly prostrated himself at the Papal feet, he was calmly denied the kiss of peace which the occasion demanded. Since he had refused to pay the

accustomed honour which his orthodox predecessors had always given in reverence to St. Peter and St. Paul, the Roman Pontiff in his turn would not receive him to the kiss of peace.* As the king continued in his assertion that this menial service was not due, and that he certainly would not pay it, the Pope retired, leaving the quarrel unsettled, and departed to Nepi. On the following day, however, Frederick held a council to discuss the matter,† and after consultation had been held with the older nobles who had accompanied Lothair in 1133, it was finally decided that the king must play the part of groom. On the 11th, therefore, the camp was moved to the Lake Janula, in the Nepean territory, and when Adrian again advanced towards the royal tent, Frederick at once dismounted, and in the sight of the whole army fulfilled his duty manfully and, Boso adds, 'cum jucunditate.' The kiss of peace was next accorded him, and the formal reconciliation was then complete.

Of the incident, Otto of Freisengen says nothing, but Boso and Cencius Camerarius give accounts which closely agree. Either the German chronicler did not care to record what was in effect a papal victory, or, as is more likely, he was anxious to represent the relations between the temporal and spiritual powers as much more friendly than they actually were. That Adrian behaved with great courage cannot be denied, but he probably recognized the real, if not very evident, strength of his position. Meanwhile, the attitude of the Normans, who had a few days previously ravaged the papal territory, as well as the obvious hostility of the Roman

* 'Donec mihi satisfacias ego te ad pacis osculum non recipiam' (Boso in *Vita*).

† Cencius Camerarius represents the cardinals as being present to urge the claims of the Pope.

people, must have enforced upon both leaders alike the need of an alliance. It is true that Frederick could have united himself with the rebellious citizens, but he was at no time disposed to encourage local independence ; and in any case the Pope's fearless behaviour doubtless showed him that any attempt at coercion would be of little avail in procuring the desired coronation.

If, however, he had ever entertained such an idea, the king abandoned it as soon as he perceived the arrogance and exorbitant demands of the Roman envoys. These met him as he advanced from Sutri to Rome, and addressed to him a bombastic speech, in which the majesty of the old republic was extolled and the Emperor was hailed as the long-expected deliverer who would throw off the yoke of the Church. Then, indeed, would the insolence of the world be bridled by the rule of the city.* The benefits which had been received by Frederick's predecessors were next recorded at length,† and the oration closed with three demands which are made remarkable by their cool impudence. The King must undertake to observe all the old laws and customs which his ancestors had confirmed, and to protect them against the violence of the barbarians ; secondly, he must pay 5,000 pounds of gold to the officials who would acclaim him in the Capitol ; finally, he must defend the republic to the shedding of blood. After all these privileges had been promised upon oath, the city would welcome him and make him Emperor.

Frederick interrupted their copious flow of words by

* 'Ad urbis reducatur monarchiam orbis insolentia' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxix.).

† 'Hospes eras civem feci. Advena fuisti ex Transalpinis partibus principem constituti, quod meum jure fuit tibi dedi' (*Gesta Frid.*, *ibid.*).

replying that, having heard so much of the old Roman wisdom, he marvelled greatly to find their speech marked by a senseless pride rather than by a thoughtful prudence. He asserted that the whole strength of the old state had left the city long ago. Their nobility was gone to the eastern capital, and when Charles and Otto established themselves as Roman Emperors, it was not by the gift of a turbulent mob, but by force of arms. And not naked had the empire passed over to Germany, but clad in its own virtue. The wise senators, the gallant knights of whom they had made their boast, were to be found, not in Rome, but across the Alps. Not, therefore, as suppliant for the crown was he come, but as rightful heir he advanced to take what was his own. Let him who could snatch the club from the grasp of Hercules! After warning the citizens that their trust in Sicilian aid was vain, the king proposed to discuss their terms, although he insisted that it was not in accordance with a prince's dignity to do so. First, with regard to the laws of ancient Rome: if just, they would be kept; if not, it neither became the Romans to demand, nor him to promise their observance. On such a point, therefore, an oath would be valueless. As to their bidding him swear to defend the city, it was quite absurd. Of course, he would protect what was not only a part of his realm, but its very capital. In the third place, they had asked for money. Was he a prisoner that he should pay a ransom? The whole demand suggested a transaction between a sutler and a travelling huckster. He had always been accustomed to give magnificently, and that of his own free will. Why should he refuse to his townsmen that which his predecessors had invariably granted them?*

* Otto, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxx.

When the king had concluded this angry reply, the ambassadors were asked if they wished to say anything further. They answered that they must first take word to their fellow-citizens, but that they would return again after a fresh consultation with them. So saying, the messengers departed hastily to Rome. Their action aroused the suspicion of Frederick, who determined to consult the Pope upon the matter. Adrian's reply is marked by the shrewd common sense which characterizes all his actions. The Romans, he said, had started forth in guile, and in guile they had departed home, but by God's help it was possible to elude their cunning snares. He recommended that a body of brave and wary soldiers should be sent to seize St. Peter's and the Leonine City. These were at present held by the papal troops, so that access would be easy, and in order to avoid any difficulty in the matter, Cardinal Octavian should be sent to explain matters to the garrison.

The King was quick to see the wisdom of this advice. The Leonine City* lay to the west of Rome proper, with which it was connected by a single bridge, the old Pons Ælius. The Castle of St. Angelo, close to the Tiber, gave the position a still greater security ; for, once garrisoned with friendly troops, it commanded the only route by which the Romans could hope to cross the river.

Accordingly a thousand men were despatched to barricade the bridge, and to hold themselves in readiness to occupy the porch and steps of St. Peter's when the due time came. Early next morning the Pope went on in advance and assumed his robes of State. About seven

* So called because it had been fortified in 848 by Pope Leo IV., after the Church of St. Peter had been plundered by the Saracens.

o'clock the king moved down the slopes of Mons Gaudius, and having pitched his camp just without the walls of the Leonine City, himself entered by the Golden Gate, and came to the steps of St. Peter's, where he found the Pope awaiting him. Otto of Freisingen gives a stirring account of the flashing arms and orderly array of the German host as it marched in,* but Boso states that Frederick had but a few followers with him. The latter historian is probably the more correct, as subsequent events seem to indicate that no considerable body of troops was ever within the walls.

The account of the coronation which the German chronicler gives is simple in the extreme. After the Pope had celebrated mass with due solemnity, the king, girt about with armed men, received the crown with the appropriate blessing, and all who were present gave thanks to God for the great deed He had wrought.†

The papal historian, however, descends into greater detail, and tells how Frederick knelt before Adrian, and, putting his hands in those of his Holy Father, swore, according to the established rule, to afford him full protection. The correct formula of his oath is fortunately preserved for us by Cencius, with whose description of a coronation Boso's account agrees admirably: 'In nomine Christi promitto spondeo et polliceor ego N. Imperator, coram Deo et beato Petro me protectorem et defensorem esse hujus Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus in quantum divino fultus fuero adiutorio secundum scire meum et posse.' The Pope then left the King, and advanced to the altar of St. Peter, while Frederick and

* He gives a quotation from the Book of Maccabees, i. 6, 39. 'Refulsit sol in clipeos aureos, et resplenduerunt montes ab eis' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxxii.).

† The date is given as June 18.

the others followed in procession. Then before the silver gates one of the Roman bishops* offered the first prayer. 'O God, in whose hand are the hearts of Kings . . . grant to Thy servant, our Emperor, the shield of Thy wisdom, that, drawing his counsels from Thee, he may always please Thee, and may rule over every realm.' Then came the second prayer from another bishop,† again requesting the Divine guidance: 'Visit him as Thou didst Moses in the burning bush, Joshua in the battle, Gideon in the field, and Samuel in the Temple.' Next, before St. Peter's tomb, the Litany was recited by the archdeacon, and then a third bishop‡ anointed the right arm and shoulders of the king, at the same time praying that the new Emperor might wield a just and mighty governance, fearing God in all his works. Mass was then sung, and Frederick was given the insignia, the sword and the sceptre, till at last the Pope put the crown on his head, saying: 'Now receive the emblem of thy glory, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit . . . and do thou so live that thou mayest, in the company of the blest, receive a crown in the eternal kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ.'§

The moment that the crown was placed upon the head of their king, the exulting Germans raised so lusty a cheer that it seemed as if a dread thunderbolt had suddenly fallen from heaven.|| The newly created lord of the world then departed, riding a horse decked with rich

* The Bishop of Albano.

† The Bishop of Porto.

‡ The Bishop of Ostia.

§ The prayers are those preserved by Cencius, and there is no mention that they were used on this occasion; but, since Boso's account mentions the three bishops, there can be little doubt that the ceremony proceeded in the usual fashion.

|| 'Ut horribile tonitruum crederetur de cælis subito concidisse' (Boso in *Vita*).

trappings, and, accompanied by a joyful crowd, returned in triumph to his camp. Adrian meanwhile remained at the palace of the Vatican, which had been restored by Pope Eugenius III. during his long exile from the city proper. Frederick had retired by the same gate at which he had entered, and no sooner was he gone and his guards withdrawn, than the Romans, who had gathered with their Senate in the Capital, crossed the Tiber in an excited multitude. Boso says that it was those who remained under arms near the Castle of St. Angelo who were responsible for the attack, and that they acted without the consent of their leaders; but there can be no doubt that all joined in the desperate struggle which now took place. At first there was no resistance, and the mob advanced almost to the Emperor's camp, slaying in the very church of St. Peter a few grooms who had the misfortune to encounter them. Anxious to protect the Pope and cardinals, Frederick bade his soldiers arm. They were very weary, as they had been under arms since early morning, and it was now almost four in the afternoon, but even so they proved themselves more than a match for their fierce but undisciplined enemy. The battle raged in two places simultaneously, for, besides the host which had crossed at the Ælian Bridge, the Emperor was called upon to encounter a force of the Trans-Tiberini which had advanced along the western bank of the river with the intention of attacking his flank. These he met near the Church of St. Benedetto in Piscinula,* and the fight which there ensued was quite independent of the main

* 'In Piscinam' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxxiii.); Waitz's note, 'S. Benedetto in Piscinula.' This is a little church in the Transtevere, famous because St. Benedict received his earliest schooling within its walls (A.D. 494).

engagement under the walls of St. Angelo. Otto of Freising quaintly says that here the Germans enjoyed the greater security, because the defenders of that fortress did not molest them with stones or spears, for their women persuaded them to refrain from action lest so noble a body of cavalry should be damaged by the fury of a senseless mob.* It is possible that, as Boso hints, there was not a perfect agreement amongst the Romans themselves; but it seems more probable that the castle was still held by the papal troops, who seem to have been usually in garrison there. The fierce joy of battle breaks forth in the good bishop's account. 'Receive now, Rome, not Arabian gold but German steel. This is the money our king offers you for your crown. Thus do the Franks buy thine empire.† The struggle continued until night, but in the end the Romans were completely routed. Counting those who perished in the Tiber, no fewer than 1,000 were slain, while 600 fell as captives into the hands of the conquerors.

Sismondi quotes the length of the engagement in proof of the improved discipline which a republican constitution had given to the Roman troops,‡ and although Otto estimates the German loss as one man killed and one taken prisoner, the evidence goes to show that the battle was indeed most desperate. For Frederick did not risk a second encounter, but on the following day retired from Rome, taking the Pope with him. The reason alleged for this retreat is that the citizens refused to supply food for the army, but if the imperial victory

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxxiii. He has the grace to add, 'ut aiunt.'

† *Gesta Frid.*, *ibid.*

‡ *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, tom. ii., p. 69.

had been as great as is represented, compulsion would have been easy.

The Emperor's movements are now rather curious. He apparently marched slowly up the right bank of the Tiber and crossed at Mount Soracte. Then, after visiting Farfa, he moved south again until he reached Ponte Lucano, a small town about a mile to the south-west of Tivoli. There, on June 29, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the two rulers of the world together attended Mass, both wearing their full state robes. During the ceremony* the Pope is said to have absolved all who had shed blood in the fight at Rome, on the ground that the soldier who fought for the King against those who were not only foes of the empire, but enemies of the Church, was not a *homicida*, but a *vindex*.

About this time the people of Tivoli cast off the fealty which they had lately sworn to Adrian and his successors, and offered the keys of their city to the Emperor. The whole Roman Church was naturally much perturbed, and appealed to Frederick as the proper advocate of her rights to force the town, well known to belong to the Holy See, to return to its allegiance. After holding a council, in which the matter was fully discussed, the monarch refused to receive the keys, and wrote a letter to the men of Tivoli, absolving them for their broken oath, but bidding them in future to obey the Pope as Lord and Father, saving only the imperial right.†

A final explanation of the Emperor's delay and of his circuitous march to Ponte Lucano is hard to find; but it is possible that a fresh attack on Rome was meditated, and that Frederick was compelled by the unhealthy climate, whose ravages are afterwards remarked, to

* Otto of Freisingen, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxxiv.

† Boso in *Vita*.

withdraw from the city to the uplands on the other side of the Tiber. Even so, however, it is hard to account for the fact that the army marched straight up one bank of the river only to return along the other, unless it be supposed that the flooding of the stream, or some other chance equally fortuitous, rendered impracticable all the nearer fords. In fact, the Emperor's movements, as recorded by both Boso and Otto, suggest that he himself was undecided as to whether he should remain in the south and reduce Rome and William of Sicily, or hasten back to Germany at once. The climate soon settled the question, if question there was. The rising of Sirius* brought on the most deadly season of the year. Fever broke out, and the German nobles pressed for a return. Leaving the Pope with the Roman prisoners, for whose lives Adrian had interceded, at Tivoli, Barbarossa marched into the mountains, and after halting to recuperate by the banks of the Nar, pushed on to Spoleto. The inhabitants of this town had incurred his wrath, partly by paying tribute in false money, and partly because they had held captive a certain Tuscan Count, Guy Guerra; the city was therefore promptly stormed and given to flames. At Ancona an Ambassador from Byzantium, one Paleologus, 'quod nos veterem sermonem dicere possumus,' as Otto says, came to meet the Emperor, bringing great gifts. Of the negotiations which followed nothing is known, though they possibly related to William of Sicily. All that can be said is that Frederick despatched as his envoy to the Eastern capital the same Wibbald to whom several of Adrian's letters are addressed.

During this conference Andreas, Count of Apulia, and

* July 24. Otto's account would imply that the Emperor remained for some considerable time in the region of Tivoli.

the Capuan exiles, presented themselves and begged for the restoration of their estates. The Emperor freely granted their request, but could offer them no active assistance, as his nobles resolutely refused to march against the Sicilian King. He therefore, 'not without bitterness of heart,' gave the order to recross the Alps, and, after considerable difficulties, his army emerged in Bavaria in the September of 1188.

The Italian expedition had lasted exactly one year. It had not been altogether a success. It is true that Frederick had attained the imperial crown, which was perhaps his prime object. But in setting out he had decided to do three things—namely, to reduce the arrogance of Milan, to quell turbulent Rome, and to restore the Capuan exiles. And now that he had come and gone the position of affairs was little different from what it was when he first set out. His designs against all three powers had ended in complete failure.

Milan remained the queen of Lombardy; Rome was unsubdued; and, far from being driven from his usurped dominions, William of Sicily had been able to ravage even the borders of St. Peter's patrimony.

VI

THE NORMANS

LEFT to his own devices, Adrian found himself much too weak to attempt to enter the city, and until September he remained in the Tuscan territory, with occasional visits to Tivoli and Civita Castellana.

About the beginning of October, however, he set forth from the latter town, and, after travelling * by Alatri, Sora, and Ferentino reached San Germano about the end of the month. He was accompanied on his march—if march it may be called—by Robert, Prince of Capua, and Andreas of Rupecanina,† who had left Frederick when they saw that no aid was to be expected from him. The Pope received a warm welcome from the Barons of Apulia, amongst whom William's inaction and the fact of his excommunication had not been without their due effect.

According to one account,‡ indeed, the counts, barons, and larger towns had sent to Adrian as to their lord, and had begged him to take into his own hands those parts which belonged by right to the See of St. Peter, and to receive into his protection their persons and their posses-

* So Jaffé, who traces the Pope's movement by an examination of his Bulls.

† Romuald of Salerno.

‡ That of Boso.

sions. It was, therefore, in response to this appeal that the Pope, after taking counsel with his cardinals, came to San Germano and received the allegiance of the Campanian nobles on September 29.

The veracity of this version of the affair may well be doubted; it is specifically stated elsewhere * that Adrian had only reached Sora upon October 9, and that it was here that he received into his possession Capua and the other lands whose lords were in rebellion. The 'Terra Laboris,' the province in which Naples itself stood, was the first to be attacked, and here the papal arms proved successful, for on November 2 Capua was burnt, and the Pope succeeded in establishing himself at Benevento before the 21st of the month.

Meanwhile fresh trouble had arisen for William of Sicily. Paleologus, who had met the Emperor at Ancona, was empowered by his master to offer the Pope a large sum of money, as well as forces sufficient to drive William from his realm, if Adrian in his turn would cede three maritime cities in Apulia. The Greek ambassador, if we may trust Romuald, had already formed an alliance with Robert of Bassavilla, nephew of Roger II., the man whom the rebels proposed to exalt to the Sicilian throne.

So great was the alarm of William when he heard of these extensive preparations against him that he decided to return to the bosom of the Church and to the obedience to his lord and Father, the Roman Pontiff. He therefore sent the Bishop-Elect of Catana with several nobles across to Salerno to beg the Pope's favour and to obtain peace. The terms he proposed are as follows: If he were absolved according to the manner of the Church, not only would he do homage and fealty to the Pope and

* *Chron. Nova Fossa.*

restore full liberty to all the Churches of his realm, but he would give in addition three towns with their *pertinentia* as repayment for the loss already incurred by the Holy See. Of these towns two—Montefercolo and Morcone—were in the Neapolitan territory, the other, Padule, was about five miles south of Benevento. The king further promised to subdue, either by arms or by money, all who dared resist the authority of the Curia, and undertook, if he could thus procure Adrian's favour, to supply him with a sum of money as large as that promised by the Eastern Emperor. The Pope held a council to discuss this offer, and despatched Hubald, Cardinal of St. Praxedis,* to Salerno, that he might ascertain the sincerity of William's promises. The legate brought back a report apparently quite satisfactory, for the Pope was anxious to conclude a treaty. He was, however, prevented from so doing by the opposition of the cardinal, whose hopes of victory were now very high, for by this time Manuel had sent Commianus Sebastus with a fleet to the siege of Brindisi.† Soon the town was taken, and only the castle manfully held out, while all the Greek cities of the coast at once joined hands with the invaders. Meanwhile Robert of Capua and Robert of Bassavilla had captured all the inland cities save only Amalfi, Troia, Melfi, and a few others. To all appearances William's cause was hopelessly lost.

Yet, as Boso says, 'whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted.' Whether the Pope's refusal to make peace turned popular sympathy in favour of the king, or whether the desperate nature of his case awoke in him some spark of the genius of his line, we cannot say. Whatever be the explanation, William suddenly acted

* Now Bishop of Ostia (Boso).

† The account is taken from Romuald.

with a prompt vigour which commanded instant success. He crossed to the mainland, and with a hastily raised army surprised the Greek general as the latter was besieging the castle of Brindisi. The invaders, with their fleet and treasure, fell into his hands, and Robert of Bassavilla fled on the news of his approach. Several of the Apulian exiles, however, were captured in the town, and these were ruthlessly hanged or blinded as a warning to the rest. The king's victory was complete, and, after Bari had been taken and destroyed, all resistance suddenly broke down, so that the royal army soon advanced in triumph to Benevento. Here there had gathered round the Pope most of the barons who had fled from Brindisi, one notable exception, however, being Robert of Capua, who had been betrayed by Richard of Aquileia* into the hands of William, who blinded him and hurried him off to a Sicilian prison, where death soon put an end to his miseries.

Despite these cruelties William was not anxious to push matters to extremes, but showed himself quite ready to come to terms with the Pope, who, having despatched most of his cardinals to Campania, was quietly awaiting the arrival of the hostile army. Two miles out of Benevento the king was met by the cardinals of St. Praxedis and St. Marcellus, together with Roland the chancellor,† and received from them a solemn warning to abstain from attacking the Holy See. He gave the legates a kindly welcome, and promised at Adrian's request to suffer the remaining rebels, of whom his cousin Robert of Bassavilla and Andreas of Rupecanina were the chief, to leave his realm without injury and in possession of all their goods. There was some small alter-

* Who thus made his peace with William.

† Roland was Cardinal of St. Mark.

cation as to the actual terms, but a satisfactory conclusion was soon reached; and the next day the Pope with the few cardinals who had remained advanced to the Church of St. Marcian, near the River Calore, with the intention of arranging a formal peace. Here William met him, prostrated himself at the holy feet, and swore to become the Pope's liegeman, Otto Frangipani reading out the oath. Adrian then granted the king the kiss of peace, and presented him with his own banner, thereby signifying that he who had been the enemy of the Apostolic See was now become its chief defender.

The terms of this Peace of Benevento are fortunately preserved for us by Baronius.* By way of introduction William descants upon the splendour of his victory, but professes that he has always been accustomed to humble himself in the moment of his greatest success. He had been, therefore, most anxious to bring to an end the quarrel which had divided Church and State, and, consequently, when the three cardinals came to treat for peace they had met with an honourable reception, and after a consultation with Mayo, the Grand-Admiral, and the bishops Hugo of Panormus and Romuald of Salerno, had been able to arrange the following conditions of peace:

First, as to appeals. If any clerk in Apulia, or in Calabria, or in the lands adjoining thereto, has a quarrel against another clerk for a cause ecclesiastical, and is unable to get justice from the head of his house, his bishop or his archbishop, then if he will he may freely appeal to Rome. Secondly, the right of the Pope to approve translations is admitted; and it is conceded that the Roman Church shall have the rights of consecration and visitation throughout the whole Sicilian realm. As

* *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xix., p. 99, sub ann. 1156.

for councils, the Church shall hold them in any of the lands at first specified, saving only the cities in which the king or his heirs happen to be, and in these only by his special permission or that of his heirs. To these same parts, too (Apulia, Calabria, and the districts adjoining thereto), shall legates be sent freely, but let the Roman Church see to it that they are men who will not waste the possessions of those amongst whom they come. With regard to the churches and monasteries of the kingdom, the Holy See shall keep its accustomed rights of bestowing consecrations and receiving a duly fixed tribute. To the clergy is secured the privilege of free election, but the king reserves to himself the right of rejecting their nominee if he be found to be a traitor, or the King's enemy, or in any other way unsuitable. All these powers, moreover, which have been granted in Apulia and Calabria and the lands adjoining thereto shall the Church enjoy in Sicily itself, save that from that island there shall be no appeal to the Holy See, neither shall there be sent thither any legation from Rome, 'save upon our express petition or upon that of our heirs.'

In return, the Pope shall concede to William, and to Duke Roger his son, and to his heirs, the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua, with all the lands pertaining thereto; Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, with all which pertains to them; Marsia and all that the king should hold beyond Marsia; and the Pope shall honourably aid him to maintain all these possessions against the world. For these territories William has sworn fealty to his Holy Father and to his successors, as is written in the terms of which the Pope possesses one copy sealed by the royal golden seal, and the King another ratified by Adrian. Lastly,

William agrees to pay a tribute of 600 schifators for Apulia and Calabria, and of 500 for Marsia, every year, and if for any special cause the payment be suspended, he will on the removal of that cause make good the whole sum due. This peace is to be binding upon the successors of the contracting parties as well as upon themselves, and, in order that its permanence may be fully secured, the king has ordered the document to be sealed with his golden seal by Matthew the scribe. 'Given close to Benevento in June, 1156, by the hand of Mayo'—'*magnus ammiratus ammiratorum*.'

The second half of the treaty deals with the promises made by the Pope to the king. The actual terms are merely repeated in exactly the same form in which they had been expressed before, but Adrian's introduction, instead of dwelling upon military success, as does that of William, emphasizes the function of the Holy Church as peacemaker. The Pontiff was bidden to receive all men with the arms of charity, so that, inspired by the example of Him who said, 'Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you,' he had sent out the three Cardinals whose mission had been crowned with success. The conclusion, too, lays stress upon the spiritual nature of the Papal authority, for the curse of St. Peter and St. Paul is invoked upon all who should attempt to evade the treaty here agreed upon.

On the following day the Pope, at the request of William and the desire of Mayo and the Archbishop of Panormus, detached from the Church of Rome, to which they rightly belonged, the sees of Agrigentum and Mazarium, and made their bishops suffragans of Panormus. This free gift seems to indicate that the Peace of Benevento was in all probability a far more genuine alliance than that which Adrian and Frederick had

formed exactly a year before. It will be remembered that the Emperor even in restoring Tivoli to the Holy See saved the imperial right, and from a passage in Rahewin's chronicle it appears that so small a trifle as a picture* had been sufficient to cause a quarrel between the jealous monarch and his Holy Father. The thing most obvious in connexion with the terms given to the Pope by William of Sicily is their extreme generosity. Adrian was absolutely in the power of the Sicilian king, yet the latter consented to pay a tribute and do homage for his possessions, as well as to guarantee the full rights of the Church throughout his domains, with one single exception.†

An examination of the circumstances of the case will show that it was only natural that the Curia and the Normans of South Italy should seek to form an alliance. If we may trust the account of Boso, the Pope had long ago seen that a close friendship with Sicily would be most beneficial to the Holy See; and while it is possible that the biographer was drawing upon his imagination with a view to glorifying his hero, it is more probable that the statement he makes is quite correct. So shrewd a politician as Adrian IV. must early have seen that the high-sounding alliance with the transalpine Emperor was likely to be of little value compared with a treaty which brought to his aid a king who depended very largely upon the support of the papal authority, and who was, moreover, always near at hand. Frederick's utter failure to rid the Holy See of her enemies, as well as his ill-concealed jealousy of the rights of the Church, must

* Rahewin, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. x. The picture represented Lothair at the feet of the Pope, Innocent II.

† No legations were to visit Sicily, and no appeals from Sicily were to be heard at Rome without the King's consent.

have confirmed the Pope in his belief that his best policy would undoubtedly be to obtain the friendship of the Sicilian monarch. This being so, it is scarcely wonderful to find that the Peace of Benevento was as cordial as the hard bargain between Emperor and Pope had been hollow and unreal. We read that William gave to the Pope and the cardinals handsome gifts of gold, silver, and silken cloth.* The compact between the Lord of the World and his spiritual father had been strangely lacking in such courtesies.

Nevertheless Frederick was very wroth when he heard of the new alliance, especially because the Pope had presumed to invest William with the kingdom of Sicily and the duchy of Apulia.† He doubtless regarded it as a direct contravention of the Treaty of Constance, which apparently had been the basis of the agreement arrived at in June, 1155. While it is true that Adrian's action may thus be regarded as a proof of his ingratitude or treachery, it must be remembered that the Emperor himself had been tried and found wanting. He had undertaken to defend the Holy Church—in his coronation oath he had sworn to maintain her rights; but once secure in the possession of the imperial crown, he had not scrupled to abandon his ally, and had crossed the Alps without striking a blow against the Pope's enemies. When such was the state of affairs it was surely legitimate for Adrian to consider that he had fulfilled his part of the compact by the bestowal of the Imperial crown, and, since the Emperor had left him to his own devices, to assume that he was now free to make the best terms possible for himself.

Despite his annoyance, however, Frederick showed in the meantime no disposition to cross the Alps, and the Pope was left free to pursue his policy in central Italy.

* Boso in *Vita*.

† Romuald, *Annales*.

It was one of quiet aggression. After leaving Benevento, Adrian came about the end of July to Montecassino and the Marsian country. On August 3 he reached Narnia, whence he advanced to Orvieto, which had for some time before withdrawn itself from the sway of St. Peter. Of late the citizens had returned to their allegiance, and Adrian was anxious to make sure of their affections, for the town was naturally well fortified. By the advice of his Cardinals, therefore, the Pope took up his abode there,* and since none of his predecessors had ever honoured Orvieto by their presence, the inhabitants were overjoyed at this mark of esteem, and gave their Holy Father such a hearty reception that he was fain to stay amongst them for some time. At last, however, he departed for Viterbo, where he remained for more than a month, perhaps negotiating with the Roman commune, for when at length he returned to Rome Adrian was able to establish himself at the Lateran. As he succeeded in maintaining himself there from November 12, 1156, until the June of the succeeding year, it is plain that he must now have come to a good understanding with the citizens. Perhaps there had been a natural reaction from Arnold's advanced republicanism, or perhaps the absence of the Pope was found to injure the commercial prosperity of the city by deflecting Embassies elsewhere. Again, the fact that Adrian had an alliance with William of Sicily may have had the effect of quieting a people amongst whom the memory of Roger Guiscard's massacre of 1084 must still have been alive. At all events, to whatever cause the changed attitude of the Romans was due, there is no sign of their openly quarrelling with the Pope until the very end of his brief pontificate. Adrian, it is true, frequently retired to Anagni and other neighbouring

* Dates from Jaffé's *Regesta*.

towns, but his absences from the city invariably occurred in the most unhealthy period of the year, and, indeed, almost every Pope found it necessary to retire from the noxious climate of the city at these times.

Boso gives a long account of the various improvements which Adrian effected in Rome, and it is probable that most of these were completed during the long stay of which mention has just been made. Certainty, however, is unattainable, because, since the *Vita* breaks off suddenly and ends in a brief account of the Pope's death, it is possible that this history of his buildings and purchases may belong to a summary in which the deeds of the whole pontificate are recounted.* Yet, everything considered, there can be little doubt that the majority of Adrian's structural renovations must belong to the period in question, for before long the Pope found himself engaged upon a fresh quarrel with the Emperor, which left him little leisure for improving the property of the Holy See. A study of Boso's text is most interesting, as showing the large number of minor activities which engaged the attention of a man constantly busied with the political or ecclesiastical negotiations which became his office. Adrian repaired the roof of the Church of the Holy Procession, built a large and much-needed tank in the palace of the Lateran, and dedicated a new and more imposing altar in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, which stood at the north end of the hollow between the Capitoline and Esquiline hills. He erected a Church at Ponte Lucano, and purchased land at Policastra, in the territory of Naples. From the daughters of Count Raymond of Guardia he bought

* This view is strengthened by the fact that reference is made to fortifications in the region round Orvieto, and these would almost certainly be erected during the Pope's stay in that town in the September of 1156.

rights in four towns, of which two were close to Rome, while one was near Orvieto,* and the other in Etruria.†

Several purchases were made in the neighbourhood of Orvieto, and these represent, perhaps, the most important part of the Pope's work, as all the property obtained was used for purposes of fortification. At Radicofano, for instance, new land was bought up, and one account‡ tells how its walls were restored. Ortha, a deserted town and a very den of thieves, which lay close to the junction of the Nar and the Tiber, was rebuilt and fortified at great expense. It will be remembered that, on the occasion of Frederick's visit, Adrian had sought to take refuge in Orvieto. This makes it clear that he regarded the town as a strong strategic position, and the fact that the Pope busied himself in improving its natural defences would argue that he did not yet consider himself secure from a second attack from the north. Amply were his precautions justified, for it was not long before the Emperor was again across the Alps, this time with a force much larger than before. For the Norman alliance had severed what of friendship had ever existed between the German Empire and the Holy See; and before many months had passed Adrian was called upon to leave his building of churches and creation of Cardinals§ by a fresh outbreak of the eternal struggle between the Papacy, which demanded the exercise of temporal power, and the Empire, whose advocates, insisting upon its Divine institution, claimed for it that supremacy in secular affairs which was enjoyed in things spiritual by the Church of Rome.

* Bolseno.

† Castillione.

‡ *Vita Hadriani IV.*, ex MS. Pandulphi Pisani.

§ In December, 1155, Adrian created seven Cardinals, including Bosó and John of Cremona.

VII

THE DIET OF BESANÇON

FORTUNATELY for the modern investigator, there begins at the very point at which the Roman biography comes to an end the work of the German Rahewin who continued the *Gesta Friderici*, which Otto of Freisingen had begun. The Belgian continuation of Sigebert's chronicle, too,* as well as the chronicles of Nova Fossa and of Otto of St. Blasien,† occasionally afford supplementary evidence, whilst the Annals of Baronius preserve at least two letters of which there is no mention in our main authority. In general, however, the German historian is accurate and very full—indeed, one account describes him as ‘prolix’‡—and though he naturally tends to present his master in the best light possible, he has all the appearance of being honest as to facts.

In the October of 1157 Frederick held a great Diet at Besançon, at which there were present not only all the nobility of Germany, but representatives from Rome, Apulia, Tuscany, Venice, Italy, France, England, and Spain. Doubtless his idea was to impress with a sense of the imperial dignity a province which had but recently

* The Aquacinctian Chronicle, written before 1200.

† *I.e.*, about 1190. The chronicle runs from 1146 to 1209.

‡ The *Vita Hadriani IV.* in the *Concilia* of Labbeus et Cossartius.

come beneath its sway. Some fifteen months previously* the Emperor had wedded Beatrice, the heiress of Renaud of Macon,† Count of Burgundy, and had thus obtained possession of that portion of the Middle Kingdom. This was the Emperor's second marriage, for in the year 1153 he had put away his first wife, Adelheide, the daughter of the Margrave of Vohburgh, apparently under circumstances which made his action by no means creditable. Otto of Freisingen gives but the briefest reference to the divorce in mentioning the negotiations into which Frederick had entered with a view to procuring a Byzantine bride. He merely states that the marriage was annulled by the Pope's legates ‡ on the ground of consanguinity. Another authority§ gives the names of the legates as Bernard, Cardinal-Presbyter, and Gregory, Cardinal-Deacon, and emphasizes the fact that the *vinculum sanguinitatis* was a mere pretext.|| The Belgian chronicle gives a somewhat different account. It asserts that the divorce, which was quite unjust, took place with the consent of the archbishops and bishops of Germany, and adds that the Emperor thereby prepared misfortune for himself, and that he afterwards married a girl of great beauty, the daughter of a certain Duke of Burgundy.

* June 10-17, 1156, at Wurzburg (Otto, *Gesta Friderici*, lib. ii., cap. xlviii.).

† Robertus de Monte, *Chronica*. *M.G.H.*, vi. 506. 'Fridericus imperator Alemannorum duxit filiam Guillermi comitis Masconensis, et cepit cum ea civitatem Vesontionem, et alias multas quas pater ejus tenuerat de duce Burgundie. Pars tamen illius honoris remansit Rainaldo comiti patris ejusdem puellæ.'

‡ Otto, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xi.

§ *Annales Argentienses* (Watterich, quoting Böhmer).

|| Otto of St. Blasien justifies Frederick's action upon the ground of Adelheide's fornication, but he apparently places the divorce under the year 1156, and on the whole shows himself untrustworthy.

It is also stated that Pope Adrian IV. and his Chancellor so angered Frederick by the stern denunciations which they passed upon him on account of his treatment of his first wife, that an edict was published forbidding any Roman Cardinal to enter his realm.*

To such a version of the affair, however, obvious objections can be raised; the fact that the chronicler styles Beatrice 'filiam cuiusdam ducis' shows his complete ignorance of the lady's exalted position. Again, it is not easy to see why and when the Pope chose to interfere, for at the time when the divorce took place Adrian was not yet elected to St. Peter's chair, but was in all probability still absent in Scandinavia. At the same time, the silence of Otto of Freisingen on the matter is ample proof that he, too, regarded his master's action as not altogether upright; and it is to be remembered that later authorities † have made this *conjugii diffidium* the ground upon which the Pope, had not death prevented him, was about to hurl the anathema upon Barbarossa. It must therefore be admitted that Frederick's divorce had been received at Rome with the greatest disapprobation, ‡ though perhaps the weight of the papal condemnation fell upon the German episcopacy; and, further, that this quarrel was ultimately the cause of a great schism between the Empire and the Papacy. This being so, since Adelheide was put away in 1153, it is at first sight strange that no mention of the Pope's displeasure should occur in Boso's biography, which deals very thoroughly

* *Sigeberti Aquacinctius Continuator*, M.G.H., xx. 407.

† The *Vita* in the *Concilia* of Labbeus and Cossartius. The authority herein cited is Dodechinus.

‡ *Annales Disihodenenses*, M.G.H., vi. 506, sub ann. 1153. It is also stated that the quarrel arose as to the second marriage in Besançon, a town which Frederick had received as part of his wife's portion.

with the first eighteen months of Adrian's pontificate. It is, however, quite possible that the new Pontiff felt unable to take action against the king for a deed which had been permitted, if not approved, by his predecessors of the Holy See, but that he used the opportunity which the Burgundian alliance afforded him to attack Frederick, not for his divorce, but for his marriage after such a doubtful separation. In acting thus the Pope would certainly be following closely the teaching of the New Testament. When, therefore, a letter of Wibbald* makes the match with Beatrice the cause of the grave schism which subsequently vexed the Roman Church, when this statement receives the support of at least one annalist,† there can be no doubt that there was a bitter quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope, and that it arose not on account of the previous divorce, but upon the occasion of Frederick's second marriage after that divorce. A consideration of the date of the ceremony will lend support to this belief. The Emperor married the heiress of Burgundy in the June of 1156—that is to say, precisely at the time when Adrian was engaged upon the completion of his treaty with the Sicilian king. A possible explanation of the whole affair is that when Frederick denounced what he considered the base treachery of the Pope, the latter replied by a condemnation of the Burgundian alliance. This would account for the silence of the German chronicles as to the dismissal of Adelheide, as well as for the strained relations between Empire and Papacy which had obviously existed before the Diet of Besançon. That a quarrel had for some time been imminent appears from a letter sent by the Pope to Wibbald ‡ in June of 1157, which states that certain men

* Martene and Durand, *Ep.* 388. † *Annales Disihodenbenses.*

‡ Martene and Durand, *Ep.* 380.

are said to be about the Emperor who do their very best to extinguish his devotion to the Holy Church, and begs that the abbot will do his best to withstand their iniquitous suggestions.

Adrian had, therefore, good reason to anticipate trouble when he sent his Legates to Besançon in the October of 1157; and that he realized the importance of the occasion is clearly shown by the fact that he chose as one of his ambassadors no less a person than Roland of St. Mark, the Chancellor of the Holy See; the other was Cardinal Bernard of St. Clement. The German chronicle* describes the cause of the envoys' visit as having all the outward appearance of sincerity, though later events proved it to have been but a cloak to cover their wicked designs. It was, in fact, the outrage perpetrated upon the Archbishop of Lund which had caused Adrian to send the legates into Germany. For, as the aged Eskill was returning home from a visit to the Pope, he was attacked in Burgundy† by a robber-lord, who seized all his goods and dragged him off to a captivity, during which his very life had been endangered, and he had received the most shameful treatment. On the second day of the Diet the Emperor retired to a private room, and gave instructions that the legates, who declared that they were bearers of a favourable message, should be brought into his presence. The opening words of the cardinals' address, however, gave but little promise of a

* 'Causa vero adventus eorum speciem sinceritatis videbatur habere, sed fermentum et occasionem malorum intus latuisse postmodum evidenter deprehensum est' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. viii.).

† Otto of St. Blasien alone gives the place of the outrage, and as he dwelt relatively near to Burgundy—St. Blasien is about half-way between Basle and Constance—he may, perhaps, be correct.

peaceful issue: 'Adrian and his cardinals give the Emperor greeting, he as Father, they as brothers.'*

The envoys next produce their letter, in which the Pope complains that he has already written to Frederick on the subject of the outrage upon the archbishop, and states that he marvels greatly to see that the crime is still unpunished. Eskill's misfortune is then related, and the Emperor, who should have used in vengeance the sword entrusted to him 'for the punishment of evil-doers, but for the praise of them that do well'†, is accused of dissimulation. 'As to the cause of this dissimulation,' continues the Pope, 'we do not know what it is, and our conscience in no way accuses us of having given thee offence in anything, since we have always loved thee with a true heart.' Frederick is then exhorted to consider all the favour shown him by the Pope, and is assured that Adrian by no means repents of his past kindness in conferring ‡ the imperial crown, but would even rejoice to bestow upon him still greater 'benefits,' were such a thing possible, as he saw that through the Emperor the greatest advantages might accrue to himself and to the Holy Roman Church.§ The belief is then expressed that Frederick's present action is due to the evil suggestion of a wicked man 'sowing tares amongst the good seed,' and the letter concludes with a commendation of the legates and a guarantee of their complete reliability.

The question as to who this evil counsellor was is one of considerable interest, for in the Pope's third letter to

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. lii., cap. viii., ix. † 1 Pet. ii. 14. ‡ 'Conferens.'

§ 'Neque tamen penitet nos tuæ desideria voluntatis in omnibus implevesse, sed si majora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset, si fieri posset, considerantes quanta ecclesiæ Dei et nobis per te incrementa possint et commoda provenire, non inmerito gauderemus.'

Wibbald* there is a similar reference to the pernicious advice the Emperor received from those about him. One cannot help thinking that Reinald of Dassel is the person against whom the attack is made. This man was Frederick's chancellor, always opposed to the Pope on political grounds, and perhaps, too, as the leader of a High Church party which endeavoured to reduce to a minimum the influence of Rome even in the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany. He it was who now read the Pope's letter and unhesitatingly gave a sinister interpretation to two doubtful passages contained therein. Adrian had spoken of 'conferring' the imperial crown; *conferre* was the word used to describe the grant made by a feudal lord to his vassal. Again, reference had been made to *majora beneficia*, and this might be interpreted to mean that the empire was merely a huge fief held by the German Kings from the Pope. With such a reading the clause *si fieri posset*, larger fiefs, 'if such a thing be possible,' would fit in very well, as the empire would, of course, be considered as the biggest feudal holding in the world. Many of the German nobles knew that the Curia claimed that the Teutonic sovereigns possessed the Empire merely by the Pope's gift, and some, too, had heard of the famous picture† in the Lateran which portrayed Lothair at the feet of Innocent II. When, therefore, the chancellor represented the Pope's letter as containing a proclamation of the supreme authority of the Papacy, the anger of Frederick's adherents knew no bounds, and when one of the cardinals—surely it was Roland—asked with more

* See p. 76.

† The nature of the picture had been reported *per fideles* to the Emperor, and he had obtained from the Pope a promise that it should be removed (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. x.).

courage than discretion 'from whom, then, does your master hold his empire if not from the Pope?*' the lives of the legates were actually in danger. For Otto of Wittelsbach leapt upon them with drawn sword, and only the personal intervention of the Emperor checked the violence of the Count Palatine and saved the envoys from paying the penalty of their boldness.

But though Frederick's anger was kept under control it was none the less fierce. The papal ambassadors were conducted to their quarters in safety, and were bidden to set out for home early next morning, and that by the shortest route. They received the strictest injunctions to turn neither to the right hand nor to the left, to enter into the territories of no bishop or abbot, but to leave the realm with the greatest possible celerity. After Roland and Bernard had been thus uncere- moniously dismissed, the Emperor at once took the precaution of stating his cause to the bishops of Germany. He probably was well aware that Adrian would denounce his conduct before the transalpine clergy, and he was, therefore, determined that they should hear his own version of the affair first. He therefore wrote them a letter, fortunately preserved by Rahewin, in which he enunciates very clearly his claim that the empire is entrusted to him by God, and is therefore held directly from God without the interposition of the Pope. He then goes on to complain that from the very head of the Catholic faith flowed vices† continually, so that not only was the whole ecclesiastical body contaminated, but a dangerous schism between Church and State was likely to be provoked. The story of the legates' appear-

* 'A quo ergo habet, si a domno papa non habet imperium?'

† 'A capite sanctæ æcclesiæ . . . causæ dissensionum, seminarium malorum, pestiferi morbi venenum manare videntur' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xi.).

ance at the Diet is next briefly related. They came stating that their errand was one which would mightily increase the honour of the empire, and were accordingly received upon the day after their arrival that they might present their kindly message. But far from being friendly to the Empire, the Pope's letter turned out to be naught else than an admonition to the Emperor, bidding him always bear in mind that it was the Pontiff who had conferred upon him the imperial crown. This was a message truly filled with a paternal tenderness, and one which surely must increase the good feeling between the German kingdom and the Holy See! So much, indeed, did it excite the wrath of the nobles who heard it, that the legates would have answered for their boldness with their lives, had not Frederick in person come to their aid. The Emperor then attempts to enlist upon his side the sympathy of his bishops, by adding that amongst the baggage of the cardinals he had found many similar letters, and, worse still, many blank documents stamped with the Pope's own seal, which would enable their bearers to go all over the realm in the usual way, scattering the poison of their malice, stripping altars, carrying off holy vessels, and mutilating the very crucifixes. It was to prevent their pursuing such a course that the legates had been ordered to return home at once. Frederick's epistle concludes with a noble statement of the imperialist doctrine. He claims that he holds his empire of God alone, and by the election of the princes—of God, because in the passion of our Lord he gave the world to be ruled by the two necessary swords.* St. Peter himself said, 'Fear God,

* The two swords of which Christ said, 'It is enough,' are always supposed by mediæval theologians to represent the temporal and spiritual powers (*cf.* Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. vii., p. 113).

honour the king,' and therefore whosoever asserts that the empire is held as a fief from the Pope, is fighting against the doctrine propounded by the very founder of the Apostolic See. Frederick has tried to free the empire from the hands of the Egyptians who have so long oppressed it, and he asks the sympathy of the German Church, to aid him in resisting this new attack upon an institution which has existed in undiminished glory ever since Christianity was first established.

Meanwhile the legates had hastened back to Adrian, who, though he had been at Anagni when he despatched the letter which had been the cause of the whole quarrel, had returned once more to the Lateran. There he remained apparently until the beginning of the following June, though there is proof that he occasionally visited St. Peter's.* When the cardinals recounted the story of their evil reception, making what was bad enough already even worse,† the papal court was divided into two factions. There was doubtless in the Curia itself a party which always favoured the imperial interests. As has been already seen, a large number of the cardinals had rejected the proposed alliance with Sicily, and according to one account, Octavian of St. Cecilia had actually begun to intrigue with the German King at a very early date.‡ It was doubtless this body which now accused the envoys of incaution and want of skill, and though Adrian supported his ambassadors, he apparently did not feel strong enough to attack Frederick

* Jaffé's *Regesta*, sub 'Adrianus IV.' There is a Bull from the Lateran dated November 2, so that the Pope must have returned from Anagni very soon after he despatched the Cardinals to Besançon.

† So *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xvi.

‡ Boso in *Vita*.

at once, for his first letter which was directed to the German Bishops was very obviously written with a view to ascertaining what amount of support he would expect from the transalpine clergy. The Pope points out that it is the special duty of bishops, especially of such as are moved by the Holy Ghost, to ensure the correction of any deed which may have been attempted against the honour of God and the safety of the faithful. He then goes on to complain about the treatment which the legates had received, but does not offer any explanation of the ambiguous *beneficia*. Next he accuses the Emperor of having issued an edict forbidding any person of his realm to visit Rome, and states that, as he has heard, measures have already been taken and officers appointed to ensure the fulfilment of this ordinance. In conclusion, the bishops are enjoined to require full satisfaction from Reinald and Otto, and are assured that if they can only persuade the Emperor to act as did Justinian, their own liberty will be made the more secure. As it was, Frederick had shown great disrespect for them by acting without any regard to their advice in so serious a matter as a quarrel with a Church founded by God Himself.

Of the edict which Adrian denounces, there is no mention in the Emperor's letter to the bishops, but, as has been already shown, another authority* states that Roman cardinals were forbidden to enter either the realm or the churches of Germany. In the reply made by the bishops, too, though Frederick is represented as having framed no such ordinance, he is yet made to assert his intention of checking the abuses connected with the papal legations. On the whole, therefore, it may fairly be concluded that the Emperor had either

* The Aquacinctian continuation of Sigebert.

attempted, or possibly only threatened, to sever the connexion between Rome and the German Church.

The position of the bishops, then, was by no means easy. The majority of them were quite content to accept the Pope's authority in spiritual matters, though they supported the claim of the Emperor to be the supreme lord of the world in things temporal. When, therefore, both parties appealed to them for support, they adopted a mediatorial attitude, and while they attempted to bring Frederick into a better frame of mind, they also sent to Adrian a letter in which an open rebuke is unfeignedly administered. The Pope is roundly informed that the message brought by the cardinals, prudent and honest as they were, has thrown the whole state into confusion, so that the bishops neither can nor dare approve of his words, because, in the letter he had sent, a dangerous ambiguity contained a claim hitherto quite unheard of. The writers declare that they have approached Frederick upon the matter, and that by the grace of God he had given them such an answer as well became a catholic prince; that his realm must be ruled by two things only—the holy laws of the Emperors and the good customs of his predecessors; that his crown was free, and held only of God, though in his election to the German throne he regarded the voice of his bishops—of the Archbishop of Mainz in particular—while he admitted that the imperial, the most important of all unctions, could be performed by the Pope alone. Barbarossa is made to assert, too, that he did not force the cardinals to leave the realm with ignominy, and that he has not forbidden entry to, or exit from, his kingdom to any connected with the Roman Church. Finally, he is represented as stating that originally God, through the empire, had exalted the Church, but that now the

Church, not, as he believes, by the will of God, is endeavouring to destroy the empire.* The rest of the epistle, though couched in respectful language, shows that the sympathies of the bishops really lay with Frederick. Reinald is defended as speaking only the words of 'humility and peace,' and the Pope's Sicilian alliance is unequivocally condemned.

Meanwhile Otto of Wittelsbach and Reinald had entered Italy by Rivoli, in order to prepare the way for their master's coming. Rahewin, who indulges in a long panegyric upon the ambassadors, and gives a detailed account of their doings in North Italy,† attributes to their having crossed the Alps the fact that a second legation was despatched from Rome, this time to make peace with the Emperor. Possibly the prospect of Frederick's making a second descent into Italy did, as the German chronicler suggests, turn the Pope's mind to what the imperial party regarded as a better counsel,‡ but it seems more likely that it was the knowledge that the Teutonic bishops were in opposition to him which really forced Adrian into explaining away the offending words.

The Pope chose as his representative on this somewhat delicate business the Cardinals Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilles, and Hyacinth of St. Mary 'in schola Greca,' and these are described as being much better fitted to carry on negotiations than the former envoys.§ After reaching Ferrara the two cardinals

* 'A pictura cepit, ad scripturam pictura processit, scriptura in auctoritatem prodire conatur' (Rahewin, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. ii., cap. xvii.).

† *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xix.-xxi.

‡ 'In melius mutato consilia' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xv.).

§ 'Ad curialia negotia multo aptiores' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xviii.).

turned aside to seek the German ambassadors at Modena, whither the latter had returned after they had driven Paleologus from Ancona. Reinald and Otto, considering that the legates' message would find favour with their master, allowed the embassy to proceed upon its way, but apparently did not supply any escort, so that the aged Archbishop of Trent, well aware of the perils of the Alpine passes, took upon his own shoulders the arduous task of protecting the Pope's representatives on their dangerous errand. His efforts, however, were of little avail, for, whilst proceeding up the valley of the Adige, the cardinals and their venerable defender were arrested by two fierce robber-lords, who considered that, on account of the Emperor's wrath against the Holy See, any outrage against her would be suffered to escape unpunished. Cardinal Hyacinth's brother, however, a Roman of noble birth, gave himself up as hostage for the legates, who were therefore liberated from the chains into which they had been cast, and allowed to proceed on their way. The lawless counts, Frederick and Henry, it is satisfactory to learn, gained but little benefit from this cruel outrage, for the vengeance of Henry the Lion fell swiftly upon them.*

Rescued from this peril, the Legates hastened on to Augsburg, where the Emperor was already concentrating his forces with a view to a second descent into Italy; for, during the negotiations between the Pope and the bishops, several months had slipped away, and it was now the beginning of 1158. Frederick gave to the Pope's ambassadors a kindly reception as they made their humble approach, and they in return conveyed a friendly message from their master to his well-beloved son in Christ. Otto of Freisingen was chosen to read

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxi.

the letter which they then presented. This would argue that the Emperor was not anxious to force a quarrel with the Holy See, for the strife between his master and the Church of Rome was a great grief to the good bishop, and he could therefore be relied upon to give to the Pope's words the best significance possible. The epistle began by stating that as Adrian from the moment of his accession had tried hard to honour the Emperor in all his doings, he had been greatly surprised to hear of the ill-treatment received by his Legates, especially when the occasion was one which should hardly have provoked so great a man as the Emperor. As for the word in question, *beneficium* with the Romans meant not *feudum*, but *bonum factum*, as the Scripture also bears witness when it says that we are ruled and cherished by the goodwill of God, not by His fief; and surely the Pope's granting of the imperial crown to Frederick* was a 'good deed.' Again, when Adrian spoke of 'conferring' the imperial crown, all that he meant was that he placed it upon the royal head,† and there could be no doubt that the real significance of the word was that utilized by himself, its second intention being suggested only by the malice of those who did not love the peace of the Holy Church.

The Pope next complains that the Emperor is said to have given orders that ecclesiastics should be prevented from making their due visits to Rome. If this report was true, then was Frederick most unjust, for had he

* 'In qua significatione in universo Sacrae Scripturae corpore invenitur ubi ex beneficio Dei, non tanquam ex feudo sed velut ex benedictione et bono facto ipsius gubernari dicimur et nutriri' (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxiii.).

† 'Per enim hoc vocabulum contulimus, nel aliud intelligimus nisi quod, superius dictum est, imposuimus' (*Gesta Frid.*, *ibid.*).

cherished any bitterness against the Holy See, it was his duty to have openly expressed his dissatisfaction, so that due reparation might have been made. Finally, the monarch is exhorted to deal kindly with the new legates, who have been sent by the request of the Duke of Bavaria, and to endeavour to come to an agreement with them, so that no ground of discord between him and the Holy Roman Church may any longer remain.

This letter, to which the Bishop of Freisingen gave the best possible interpretation, quite appeased the wrath of the Emperor, who first laid down several rules for the determination of future dissensions, and then, having assured himself that the Pope would endeavour to preserve intact the dignity of his empire, returned once more to the friendship of his spiritual Father. To the absent Adrian he sent the kiss of peace, by the legates, who returned home joyfully, laden with many royal gifts.

So ended the great quarrel which took place at the Diet of Besançon. In appearance it had turned upon the rendering of a few Latin words, but in reality the root of the matter lay very deep. The strife was not one of words, but of principles, and since this was so, the peace which ensued after the former reconciliation, far from being final, was but a breathing-space in which both combatants prepared for the greater struggle that was to follow. In point of fact, the views of Adrian and of Frederick as to the relative positions of empire and Papacy were utterly incompatible. The strife which centres round the Diet of Besançon was but a phase, and a somewhat inglorious phase, of the eternal conflict between the two powers whose rivalry sums up the history of the Middle Ages in Europe. Even if, as the Pope asserted, the doubtful words were meant to convey no idea of the feudal supremacy of the Church,

the very fact of the Emperor's suspicion that they did involve some such claim, is in itself sufficient proof of the strained relations which always existed between the lord of the temporal world and the head of the Catholic faith.

And what of Adrian? It must be confessed that it is hard to believe that he acted quite ingenuously in this matter. It is, of course, possible that he wrote the words in all innocence, and the fact that they occur casually in a letter which makes a request from the Emperor may seem to give some credibility to this belief. But it must be remembered that the Pope made no attempt at an explanation before he had sounded the feelings of the German clergy, and since this is so, the idea at once suggests itself that he intended, in the event of his receiving the support of the imperial episcopacy, to persevere in the claim which the words implied. Granting, then, that Adrian was well aware of the full meaning of the terms employed, there remain two alternatives: one is that a deliberate trap was laid for Frederick, and that the words were purposely given an ambiguous intention; so that if the king overlooked them, the fact of his having done so might be construed into a precedent in favour of the Pope's demands; while, if the words were challenged, their double significance would make easy the path of retreat. Secondly, it is possible that Adrian merely took the opportunity of stating definitely the claims which he had always upheld, and that the words were really meant to bear the construction which the nobles put upon them. If this is so, the explanation afterwards offered was quite sophistical, though perhaps it is the less to be condemned because to the practical politician of the Middle Ages there would be nothing very shocking in the employment of such a

device. Edward I. of England himself descended not infrequently to a verbal quibble.

But while it is, therefore, very difficult to acquit Adrian of duplicity in the use of words, it is by no means necessary to assume that the Emperor was for one moment deceived, or that the Pope ever hoped to deceive him. Both saw very clearly that a quarrel was inevitable, and probably understood that the so-called reconciliation was but a postponement of the final rupture, only at all desirable because neither party was yet prepared for the open combat that was bound to come. None the less, this attempt at sharp practice cannot but lower one's estimation of the Pope; but, let it be remembered that whatever may have been the motive which prompted the design, base fear it certainly was not. For when even the semblance of friendship was no longer possible, and the struggle became one not of secret rivalry, but of open violence, then Adrian IV. was not found wanting. If his character has seemed to suffer a stain in the quarrel which arose at Besançon, it is gloriously redeemed in the final act of the great drama. For the cool courage and the iron resolution of the Englishman shine out more gloriously than ever as he rises undaunted to face the mightiest lord in Christendom.

VIII

THE LAST STRUGGLE

ALREADY has emphasis been laid upon the fact that even during those periods in which the friendship between Pope and Emperor seemed to be strongest, the embers of dissension were in reality always smouldering, so that upon the smallest provocation the flame of discord blazed up with an astonishing violence. The chroniclers of the age, however, love to represent these times of peace as the normal state of affairs, and, by ascribing each successive outburst to a different cause, contrive to ignore the existence of the perpetual duel between the Church and the State. Rahewin, for instance, after treating the reconciliation of Augsburg as final, makes no mention of any fresh quarrel between Frederick and Adrian until 1159; whereas other contemporary evidence shows without a doubt that throughout the whole of the preceding year the two rival powers of Christendom had kept all Lombardy in a state of ferment with their leagues and counter-leagues. For it was in Lombardy that the contending forces next joined arms, and a moment's consideration will show that this was only natural.

The Peace of Benevento, though it had certainly given the a Curia stout ally, had also alienated from the Papacy the sympathies of the Eastern Emperor as well as those of Barbarossa. Manuel's attempts upon the coast towns

about Ancona had, for the time being, thrown the two lords of the world in opposition one to another, but on the whole the relations between Byzantium and the Court of the German Emperor had been of late very friendly, so that a peace might be arranged at any moment. The position of Adrian was, therefore, one of great uncertainty, for if the Greeks in alliance with Frederick made an attempt upon Brindisi, as they had done once before, the Sicilian forces would be hurried off to meet the invaders, leaving the Holy See completely at the mercy of the German monarch. It was consequently necessary for the Pope to secure another ally, and the idea of uniting with the Lombard cities would at once suggest itself. In the first place, they barred the road which led from the north to Rome; and, further, they were already in violent opposition to Frederick, with whose views of universal empire they were little disposed to agree. Moreover, the citizens did not lack the ability to fight, as the case of Tortona plainly showed; for there a single town, and that not one of the largest, had held at bay the whole imperial army for more than two months.

Although the Emperor had been successful in the first engagement, the spirit of the cities was by no means broken; on the contrary, the people of Milan at once set about renewing their former alliances. They even attempted to force into their league Lodi, a town particularly under the care of Frederick, and in the November of 1157 demanded a payment of *fodrum*,* which the unfortunate citizens were compelled to grant.† At the beginning of 1158 the Milanese Consuls demanded

* *Fodrum* was an exaction, originally of fodder, but practically much the same as 'purveyance.'

† The story of Lodi may be regarded as typical of the efforts made by Milan to reconstruct a league. It is taken from a con-

that all the citizens over fifteen years of age should take an oath to support them, and to obey all their commands. The unfortunate men of Lodi were thus placed in a very unpleasant predicament, for on the one hand, having plighted their faith to the Emperor, they feared to commit perjury, whereas on the other they were threatened with the direst penalties unless they obeyed their enemies' behest. In vain did they promise to take the oath, 'saving their fealty to their lord, Frederick the Emperor.' The only reply given them was that unless they obeyed implicitly the commands given them they would be ejected from their lands and regarded as outside the public peace. At this juncture there appeared at Lodi two cardinals, Ordito of Rivoltella and Otto of Brescia, who had been despatched *a latere* to put an end to the mutual quarrels which prevailed amongst the Lombards, and to unite the cities in a firm peace. As they could not see the wretched townsmen forced into perjury, the legates took their part against the Milanese, and the matter was compromised for the time, when the latter were induced to accept the promise of the men of Lodi to take the oath of complete obedience saving only the imperial rights.

It is very significant that Milan had refused all previous appeals, even when they were strongly supported by the local clergy; the obvious conclusion is that the Pope had a preponderating influence in the affairs of the city. There can, then, be little doubt that long before Frederick started upon his second Italian expedition, the Envoys of the Curia were already arranging against him the strong opposition of the Lombard towns. It was, according to Frederick himself, the arro-

temporary authority, Otto Morena, who had actually been besieged in Tortona in 1155 (*vide* Muratorius, tom. vi., p. 999).

gance of the Milanese which drew him across the Alps in 1158. The Emperor had declared that he intended to lead against these troublers of Italy the whole force of his realm, and, without doubt, it was a mighty array which followed him from Germany down the valley of the Adige. Even that, however, represented but a part of the immense host which descended from the Alpine passes into the plains of Lombardy. The Dukes of Austria and Carinthia traversed the mountains at their eastern extremity, and marched through the pass of Friuli; Berthold of Zähringen meanwhile came down the Great St. Bernard, and appeared above Aosta, while Frederick of Swabia, the Emperor's cousin, crossed the Splügen, and advanced by way of Chiavenna.

Brescia, Crema, Parma, Piacenza, and Modena had meanwhile definitely entered into an alliance with Milan, and of these Brescia was the first to be attacked. After a short struggle the town was reduced, and the victorious Emperor was free to attack Milan. Here he encountered a most gallant resistance, but the citizens were eventually compelled to submit, and to promise their conqueror that with him should rest the confirmation of their consuls. Further, they were forced to agree that they would give hostages and swear an oath of fealty as a guarantee of good behaviour in the future, while a considerable sum of money was exacted from them as an atonement for their past ill deeds. So far all promised well for Frederick in the north of Italy, but even before he undertook the siege of Milan he had received the first formal intimation of the Pope's hostility. The Emperor had taken upon himself to decide a quarrel which had arisen between Brescia and Bergamo, a town which lay a little to the north and west of the former city. Whilst he was engaged upon this matter he was visited by a ragged

messenger, a man of most villainous appearance, who rudely forced his way into the royal presence, handed Frederick a letter, and disappeared as suddenly as he had come. This letter proved to be a missive from the Pope, and its contents threatened the Emperor with the imposition of an interdict if he presumed to take upon himself the decision of the question which was then engaging his attention.* The only evidence for this incident is a letter written by Bishop Eberhard of Bomberg † to the Cardinal Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilles. This is somewhat indirect, and the story of the messenger's rags and want of courtesy may therefore be a slight exaggeration. That Frederick was highly incensed appears most plainly in his next letter to the Pope, and in the meantime his actions at the great Diet which met at Roncaglia in November, soon after the submission of Milan, show that he had now abandoned all compromise, and was prepared to fight out the quarrel to the bitter end.

At this great assembly the Emperor appeared surrounded by absolutist lawyers, who announced that the pleasure of a prince was in itself a law, and that, accordingly, Frederick had determined that all his royal privileges should return to him in spite of any prescriptive title by which they might be held. At the same time he was willing to re-invest the various lords of towns, whether lay or ecclesiastical, with all the 'regalia' to which they could justly lay claim. Henceforth, how-

* Milman adds that the letter also contained complaints about the exaction of *fodrum* from the papal domains, and the ill-treatment to which certain legates had been subjected, but there is no evidence to that effect in Eberhard's letter (*History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iv., p. 422).

† The letter is preserved by Rahewin (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xxii.). It was written in 1159.

ever, the supreme magistrate in every city was to be appointed by the Emperor with the consent of the citizens, and Otto of Wittelsbach and Reinald of Dassel were despatched to establish these podestàs throughout Lombardy. Frederick's attack upon the regalia of the bishops and his attempt to re-invest them with their temporalities show clearly that by this time he was not averse from an open quarrel with Rome. Meanwhile he spent Christmas at Alba, and a letter directed thence to Adrian by the hand of the Bishop of Vercelli affords yet another proof of the hostile relations now existing between the Papacy and the empire. This letter contained what Rahewin * calls a friendly request that Guido, the son of the Count of Blandrada, a town a little to the north of Vercelli, should be made Archbishop of Ravenna. As the youth had been received into the service of St. Peter, it was impossible to promote him to the vacant see without the Pope's consent; but the Emperor expressed the hope that this permission would not be withheld, as the candidate was noble alike in learning and in birth, and one whose advancement would be an honour to the Holy See. Although Frederick pretended that by choosing a member of the Church of Rome he was following the apostolic injunction, 'In honour preferring one another,' and claimed that the whole Church of Ravenna as well as the Legate Hyacinth had agreed in the election, it is quite obvious that his intention was to strengthen his position in Lombardy by the appointment of a staunch imperialist † to a see which

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xviii., xix.

† The Count of Blandrada was evidently a strong imperialist partisan. He accompanied Otto of Wittelsbach and Reinald of Dassel to Milan when these ambassadors went thither to establish podestàs, and later he was with them at Rome.

in the estimation of the German monarch himself was second only in importance to that of Rome. In his reply Adrian made use of much the same weapons as those which his enemy had adopted. To the Emperor was accorded a friendly salutation and the apostolic blessing, but his demand was politely refused on the grounds that the Pope had acquired so deep a love for Guido that he could not allow himself thus to be robbed—nay, by some intuition of his virtues he had appointed the young man to a church, as if he were already a cardinal-deacon, and, having regard to the advantage which might accrue to the Papacy through the influence of the Blandrada family, he intended to detain his protégé at Rome, where the highest promotion certainly awaited him.

Frederick was furious at the opposition, and, according to Rahewin's account, it was for this reason that he bade his scribe to place the imperial name before that of the Pope, whenever a letter was despatched to the Curia, and to address the Pontiff in the familiar second person singular, adding that if Adrian refused to follow the customs of his lawful predecessors, he, at least, would return to the old fashion of the earlier Emperors. But in the letter given verbatim by the German chronicler* Frederick's name is already put before that of the Pope, so that it becomes clear that the quarrel which led the Emperor to adopt this disrespectful form of greeting must have occurred some time beforehand. It is, then, exceedingly probable that Adrian's intervention in the matter of the dispute between Bergamo and Brescia preceded the quarrel which arose about the appointment of the Archbishop of Ravenna. Certainty, however, is impossible; for the only reference to the Pope's inter-

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xix.

ference on the former occasion is the letter written by the Bishop of Bamberg, and naturally no date is given.* Even here, however, it is specifically stated that the dissension about the Emperor's right to decide the quarrel between the two towns is the whole cause of the present strife between Frederick and the Holy See.

It must, therefore, be concluded that Rahewin is wrong in representing the Pope's refusal to appoint the imperial nominee to the See of Ravenna as the beginning of the renewed hostility between the Empire and the Papacy, and this conclusion can readily be supported by a consideration of Frederick's movements during the years 1158 and 1159. The Emperor had entered Italy and reduced Brescia in the July of 1158; he then moved on to Roncaglia, which he reached at the beginning of November; and after this date he stayed in the south of Lombardy, near Alba, until he was called north again by the revolt of Milan.† Accordingly, the only opportunity which Frederick had of dealing at first hand with the affairs of Brescia would be between the time of his entry and the beginning of the Diet of Roncaglia—that is to say, between the July and the November of 1158. If such a view be adopted, the fact that the Emperor's name precedes that of the Pope in the letter requesting the promotion of Guido ceases to present any difficulty, for all agree in placing that letter in the beginning of 1159, so that far from its being the cause of the renewed strife, the quarrel about the archbishopric of Ravenna would be but an incident in a struggle already some months old.

Meanwhile Adrian had been actively preparing for

* See p. 95.

† Frederick did not lay siege to the town till after Easter, April 12, 1159.

resistance, and before long there fell into the hands of Frederick certain letters from the Holy See, in which Milan and several other States were openly urged to revolt.* After this there could be no more peace, and it is doubtful if either Pope or Emperor desired it. Yet both in Germany and in Italy there were those who regarded the growing enmity between Emperor and Pope with the greatest apprehension. Rahewin† has preserved the correspondence which took place between Eberhard of Bamberg and the Cardinal of SS. Nereus and Achilles, from which it appears that both of these men were striving hard in the interests of peace. The cardinal's letter begs the bishop to do his best to prevent a quarrel, appealing to him above all men on the ground of his faithful mediation at Augsburg. Eberhard is exhorted to stand fast for the honour of God and the freedom of the Church, because while the King's counsel is directed by men entirely ignorant of things divine, there can be no hope of a final reconciliation.

In his reply the Bishop of Bamberg explains that he had not heard of the dishonour which the Emperor had done to the Pope by placing his own name first. But while not attempting to excuse a thing beyond all palliation, he quotes, as the cause of Frederick's wrath, the letter he had received from the Pope when engaged in the settlement of the quarrel between Brescia and Bergamo. He expresses the opinion that this letter was too harsh, and after begging the cardinal himself to come and mediate, not with bitterness, but with love, he goes on to pray that God will have mercy on all those

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xxi.

† *Ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. xxii. The chronicler also preserves a letter from Eberhard to the Pope. His object is that the reader himself may judge as to who was responsible for the final outburst.

who make worse this most unnatural strife. 'As for the Emperor,' he concludes, 'you know what manner of man he is. He loves those who love him, and all others he abhors, since he has not yet learnt perfectly to love his enemies.' Thus, though Eberhard does not hesitate to express doubt as to the wisdom of the Pope's action, the sincerity of his desire for peace is obvious. And the fact that he mentions that the Emperor has left the camp upon some secret business, of which even he is ignorant, suggests that the bishop was in the habit of assisting the Papacy whenever he had the opportunity, just as Wibbald had done upon an earlier occasion.* The letter which he wrote to the Pope, too, argues that Eberhard was Adrian's true friend. He apologizes for his intervention by quoting the urgency of the occasion, for as yet the war is but one of words, and the Pope's prompt action may prevent its going any further. It therefore behoves Adrian not to seek the cause of the fire, but to extinguish it at once, and this he can do by writing to Frederick a gentle letter devoid of all ambiguities. Thus will there be no rending of the mantle, but the Holy Church will accord her Pope a joyful and steadfast devotion.

In spite, however, of all the efforts of honest men in the direction of procuring peace, the breach between the spiritual and the temporal powers continued to grow steadily wider. Frederick had in the meantime continued his policy of repression in Northern Italy, but his success had been small. When Otto of Wittelsbach and Reinald of Dassel came to Milan with the intention

* The Abbot of Corvey died just about this time whilst on a mission to Byzantium. The fact that both these men were good friends to Rome does not involve either of them in actual treachery to the Empire.

of establishing podestàs, an angry mob of citizens surrounded the house in which they stayed; stones were thrown, and even the influence of the Count of Blandrada failed to preserve the ambassadors from the violence of the crowd. The Emperor was celebrating Candlemas at Occimiano, near Vercelli, when he heard of the news of this fresh revolt, and after he had bitterly denounced to his lords the treachery of the Milanese, he summoned the latter to give an account of their conduct. They merely replied that they had sworn an oath, but had never promised to attend to it. Frederick accordingly once more gathered his troops, and after having spent Easter at Modena, advanced into the territory of Bologna, and there cited the people of Milan to appear before him in the person of their representative. They, however, neither appeared nor sent any message to explain their absence, with the result that Frederick adjudged them public enemies, and proceeded to lay siege to their city.

But Milan was by no means alone in her resistance, for several other towns had also overthrown their podestàs and declared themselves republics. The Pope, too, had by no means forsaken his allies. At the very council in which the ban of the empire was formally pronounced upon the rebellious city, there had appeared four cardinals, bringing from their master a letter which, though it began with words of peace, yet contained such exorbitant demands that it was, in effect, little less than a declaration of war. The Legates in question were Octavian of St. Cecilia, Henry of SS. Nereus and Achilles; William, formerly archdeacon of Pavia; and Guido, archdeacon of Crema. The terms which they demanded in the name of the Pope are fortunately preserved in a letter from Eberhard of Bamberg to his name-

sake, the Archbishop of Salzburg.* Adrian demanded in the first place that no ambassadors should be sent to Rome without his consent, since all the magistracies and regalia of the city belong to St. Peter ; and secondly, that no *fodrum* should be collected from the domains of the Holy See, except on the occasion of an Emperor's coronation. He was, however, prepared to concede that the bishops of Italy should swear fealty to Frederick, but he would not suffer them to do homage to any save himself. Further, the Pope insisted that imperial ambassadors should not be lodged in the episcopal palaces. All these claims, however, sink into insignificance when compared with the final demand, which is that the following possessions should be restored to the Holy See: Tivoli, Ferrara, Massa, Ficoloro, the whole of the territory of the Countess Matilda, and all the land which lay between Aquapendente and Rome as well as the Duchy of Spoleto and the islands of Sardinia and Corsica.

Although such a letter must have excited him to the utmost wrath, Frederick appears to have behaved with great moderation. There are no fewer than three accounts of his reply to the Pope's claims. The first is contained in the letter from which these claims have just been quoted, the second comes direct from the pen of Rahewin, and lastly, the Emperor himself, in writing to the Bishop of Salzburg, gives a full description of the negotiations which followed the cardinals' visit. In reply to the demands which they presented, Frederick explained that he could not give any answer upon so important a matter unless with the consent of his nobles, but that without any prejudice to his counsellors he would say this: he would not ask the homage of the Italian

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xxxiv.

Bishops, unless they chose to accept any of his regalia. If, however, they rejoiced to hear the Roman Pontiff say, 'What want ye with a king?' they should not grieve to hear from himself a similar question, 'What want ye with a possession?' As for the demand that the imperial ambassadors should not be lodged in the episcopal palaces, it was manifestly absurd, for if everything on a piece of land belonged to the owner of that land, then were these palaces not the bishops', but the Emperor's. The affair was one of the greatest importance, for, since he was by divine ordination Roman Emperor, he would not suffer his title to become, by the loss of his capital city, merely an empty name.*

The cardinals, however, refused to discuss the matter further, averring that they could not place their master upon his trial; and thereupon Frederick denounced at length the contravention by the Pope of their mutual treaties, which forbade either to come to terms with the Eastern Emperor, the Sicilian King, or the Roman commune without the other's consent. He complained, too, that legates, without his permission, travelled all over his empire, entering the bishops' palaces and oppressing their churches, while he had a third grievance against the Curia on account of its unjust behaviour in the matter of appeals. Letters were therefore sent to the Pope urging him to appoint two more cardinals, that they, in conjunction with the four already in the Emperor's camp, might confer with six German bishops with a view to obtaining a satisfactory arrangement. Adrian, however, declined to appoint any more envoys, and insisted upon his original terms, which, as appears from Frederick's letter to the Bishop of Salzburg, were

* This is the direct account of Rahewin (*Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xxxv.).

those originally determined upon by Eugenius III.* The scheme of arbitration therefore fell to the ground.

Meanwhile, all these transactions had been witnessed by the representatives of a political force which had of late been of little importance — namely, the Roman commune. These men expressed the greatest indignation at the Pope's demands, and thus succeeded in securing Frederick's favour, so that they departed home laden with friendly promises. The Emperor probably saw that in the event of an actual war with Adrian, an alliance with the turbulent citizens of Rome would be of considerable advantage to him, but at the same time he must have considered the friendship of the Pope of even greater value; for when, at the request of the cardinals, ambassadors were sent to the city, their orders were to come to terms with the Apostolic See, if possible, and only failing that, to make a treaty with the Senate and the people. But Adrian was by no means disposed to make peace. By June 15 he was firmly established at Anagni, and there he busied himself in the organization of a strong resistance. He did not hesitate to join himself to the schismatic Emperor of the East, whilst to the orthodox Frederick he sent a bitter letter, which provoked a reply every whit as fierce.† It is dated June 24, and though it is addressed to the Pope's 'dear son in Christ,' its tenor is very far from conciliatory. The divine law, writes the Pontiff, promises long life to all

* 'Aliam se nolle concordiam quam illam quæ inter papam Eugenium et nos facta fuisset' (Rahewin, *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xxxvi.).

† These letters are preserved by the Aquacinctian chronicler only. There is no mention of them in Rahewin. For this reason, as well as because there is no mention of the embassy which reached Frederick just before he laid siege to Milan, some doubt as to their genuineness may be entertained.

who honour their parents, but whosoever curseth his father or his mother, let him die. By placing his own name before that of his Holy Father, Frederick had laid himself open to the charge of insolence and arrogance. How could he be said to keep the fealty which he had sworn to the Pope, when he exacted homage from the bishops, taking their consecrated hands in his own, and when he dared to forbid cardinals to enter his realm. Let him be careful lest in aiming at what he had not got he lost what had already been granted him.

In reply the Emperor bids the Pope confine his attention to the things which Jesus ordained, and asserts that the law of justice gives his own to every man. What royal rights had Sylvester before Constantine gave him them? It is to the bounty of the Emperors that the Papacy owes all her temporalities. If, therefore, the bishops chose to keep their temporalities, let them follow the example of Christ, who paid tribute to Cæsar for St. Peter and for himself. As for the cardinals, they had been excluded as being not preachers but thieves, not ministers of peace, but robbers of money: when they showed themselves to be such as the Church required them, they should not lack a hospitable reception. The Pope certainly did not lay himself open to any charge of humility or courtesy; let him be careful to excite no further the wrath of those who are already prepared to rise against him! The letter closes with the expression of a fear that the detestable monster pride has already crept to the Papal chair. As Adrian seeks the peace of the Church, so may he prosper.

In the meantime Milan continued to offer a valiant resistance, and as has already been hinted, Crema, Brescia, and Piacenza, had at once taken up arms in her defence. Accordingly, as his siege operations made but

slow progress, Frederick gladly consented, upon the earnest request of the men of Cremona, to make an attack upon the first-named of these three towns.* Whilst he was still engaged upon this expedition he received an embassy from the Senate and people of Rome, asking if, on account of a few bad men, the Emperor was willing to destroy many who were both honourable and noble, and once more reiterating the claim, that it was by the gift of the citizens that the imperial crown had passed over to Germany. In marked contrast to the treatment they had received upon the former occasion, the representatives of the commune received a kindly hearing from Frederick, who sent them back to Rome accompanied by his own envoys—Otto of Wittelsbach, Aribert of Aqua, and Count Guido of Blandrada. These ambassadors, however, had received instructions that in the event of the Pope's choosing to come to terms they were immediately to break off all negotiations with their new allies, and once in Rome they promptly set about undermining the influence of the Pontiff, and establishing amongst the Cardinals a party hostile to their own head. But in spite of all their efforts, Adrian showed himself by no means inclined to submit. With the embers of the Roman commune still smouldering under his feet, whilst Crema fell and Milan was girt about with enemies, he wavered not at all. Even whilst his rebellious citizens were treating with Frederick before Crema, the Pope had made an alliance with Milan, Brescia, and Piacenza, by which these towns promised to make no peace with the Emperor without his consent, while he on his part undertook to excommunicate their common enemy ere forty days had elapsed.†

* *Gesta Frid.*, lib. iv., cap. xlvii., xlix.

† Ex *Chronicon de Rebus in Italia Gestis. Chronicon Placentinum*, apud Watterich.

As Adrian died ere the time appointed had passed, the formation of the league must be assigned to the August of 1159, and it is possible that a letter of Frederick to Albert of Freisingen* may refer to an alliance made at this time. If this is so, the Pope's scheme was very far-reaching, for the Emperor mentions with horror that Milan, Piacenza, Crema, Bergamo, Brescia, Parma, Mantua, and the Mark of Verona, were all participators in the revolt. It was probably at this juncture, too, that the Pope and his Cardinals invited William of Sicily to rule over all Italy, instead of the iniquitous Frederick, and sent Roland the Chancellor to give to the Normans the blessed banner of St. Peter. To this scheme, however, there were four dissentients — namely, Imarus, Bishop of Tusculum, Octavian of St. Cecilia, Guido of Cremona, and John of St. Martin; and as two of these, Octavian and Guido, had taken part in the embassy of April, this division presumably took place after its return. That being so, it may fairly be concluded that the disagreement was due very largely to the influence of the Emperor's envoys, Otto of Wittelsbach, and Guido of Blandrada.

But even thus deserted by those who should have been his stanchest supporters, Adrian manfully girded himself for the fray. And now the forty days were almost gone, and the time for the hurling of the anathema near at hand, when on September 1† the valiant Pope died in the very midst of his preparations. The cause was an attack of quinsy, and that the illness was a short one is

* Pertz places this letter in the May of 1159, but Watterich is inclined to put them under the year 1160, as it is well known that the Cardinal John of Anagni was sent to act against the Emperor in Lombardy at that time.

† So Boso, Otto, and *Chron. Nov. Foss.*

proved by the fact that Adrian's last bull is dated only a fortnight before his demise. Imperialist tradition ascribed to divine interposition the opportune removal of the Pope, who had dared to resist the mighty Barbarossa, and told with awe how he was choked by a fly which he swallowed in a draught of water. But when, on September 4, the remains of the Englishman were honourably buried in St. Peter's, in the presence of a great crowd of people and clergy, the imperial ambassadors also presented themselves. And though it is unlikely that they were expressly sent by their master—it was but three days since the Pope had died—the very fact of their coming shows that they were sure of the Emperor's approbation, and well might they be so. Frederick Barbarossa always respected courage, for he himself was a brave man.

IX

THE BULL 'LAUDABILITER'

It has been said that the distinction usually accorded to Adrian IV. is that of having been the one English Pope. After-ages, however, have found yet another reason for preserving his fame—namely, that it was by his grant that Ireland passed under the dominion of the English king. It therefore becomes necessary in any account of Adrian IV. to make some reference to the famous bull by which this grant was made, though, in consideration of the enormous amount of literature which has been written on the subject, a long disquisition is undesirable.*

That Catholic Ireland should be a mere appanage of Protestant England has long been a grievance to staunch upholders of Irish liberty and the Irish religion, and the consequence is that the attempts to prove that Adrian IV. never authorized Henry II. to conquer the island have been many and varied. The curious thing is that there are extant in the Black Book of the Exchequer three letters of Alexander III., in which it appears plainly

* The question was threshed out in the pages of the *English Historical Review* and several other periodicals. Mr. Round has an excellent article on the subject in *The Commune of London*. Mr. Thatcher, of Chicago University, has amplified the views of Scheffer Boichorst; and perhaps the last word rests with Mr. Davis, in an appendix to *England under the Normans and Angevins*.

that the king's attack upon Ireland in 1172 was made with the Pope's consent. Against the validity of these letters no attack has ever been made, and since this is so it is strange that the document attributed to Adrian should have been subjected to so searching a criticism. For, whether the actual bull be genuine or not, the fact remains that when Henry II. made an endeavour to conquer Ireland, his attempt certainly was viewed by the Curia with acquiescence, if not with approbation.

The bull 'Laudabiliter' is preserved by Giraldus Cambrensis in the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, but there is no original copy amongst the Papal archives. This, however, proves nothing, for there is at Rome no document dealing with the affairs of Ireland before the year 1215. In consequence, most of those who have attacked the authenticity of the bull have thought it sufficient to discredit Giraldus, and as it is not difficult, in the works of that somewhat boastful historian, to find many palpable inaccuracies, several writers,* after having pointed out numerous errors in the *Expugnatio*, have retired, content that the spuriousness of 'Laudabiliter' is beyond all question established. But to prove that a work contains many mistakes is far from being a conclusive argument against the validity of any particular passage. It is therefore necessary to examine the actual document itself before any final verdict as to its genuineness can be pronounced. The tenor of the instrument is as follows:—The king's design for obtaining honour on earth† and happiness in heaven by widening the

* White and Lynch (*Cambrensis Eversus*). Mr. Round himself is more cogent in arguing that if Gerald could invent, as he apparently did, Diarmaid's letter to Strongbow, he could certainly have forged 'Laudabiliter.' But even here there is a *non sequitur*.

† 'Laudabiliter . . . de glorioso nomine propagando in terris et æternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in cælo, tua magnificentia cogitat.'

bounds of the Church, and teaching the rude peoples the truth of the Christian faith, is altogether praiseworthy. All islands which have received Christianity belong to St. Peter, and the Pope is more than willing to sow good seed in them because his conscience will demand a strict account of him. Consequently, when he heard that the English king wished to enter Ireland with a view to subduing the peoples to good laws, and to extirpating vices, Adrian gladly consented to the scheme, and that the more readily because Henry promised to pay to St. Peter one penny every year for each house, as well as to preserve intact whatever rights the Pope already enjoyed in the island. Let the king therefore teach the Irish good morals, and let him and his ministers so act that the Church in Ireland may be adorned, and that the Christian faith may there be planted and grow abundantly.

Against this document very many arguments can be urged. In the first place, the writer seems to be quite uncertain as to whether the country in question was already Christian or not. Again, the form of the Bull corresponds ill with the strict rules used by the clerks of the Papal chancery. The second person singular is used, there is no mention of the mutual friend* at whose request the privilege has been granted, and there is a lack of the accurate technical expressions such as should certainly occur in a document of this kind. While the sentences end in the correct rhythm, there is a paucity of words and similarity of terminations which suggest the amateur. There can then be little doubt that 'Laudabiliter' as it stands in the *Expugnatio* is a forgery, and to this belief a greater degree of certainty is afforded by a comparison of the famous Bull with one granted at this

* John of Salisbury.

time to Louis VII. of France. About this time the kings of France and England had been considering the possibility of making a crusade against Spain, and the Pope sent to each monarch a letter praising his commendable intention. That to Louis has been preserved, and its correspondence with the famous 'Laudabiliter' is indeed remarkable. Of the actual comparison Mr. Thatcher in the *Chicago Decennial Studies* has made an elaborate proof, a full account of which cannot be attempted in an essay such as this; suffice it to say that what is merely absurd and superfluous in 'Laudabiliter' occurs in a natural sequence in the letter to Louis VII. Take, for instance, the phrase referred to in the note on the previous page. The 'glorious name' in question, of course, ceases to be that of the king and becomes that of Christ. If, then, it be assumed that 'Laudabiliter' owes its origin to the English copy of the Pope's letter to the two kings, the fact that Ireland is sometimes represented as heathen and sometimes as Christian is easily explained; whenever the author of the so-called Bull of Adrian thought definitely what he was about, he would represent the island as already converted, whereas as soon as he began to follow his model too closely, he unconsciously rendered Ireland a country barbarous and pagan. The much-discussed 'Laudabiliter,' then, is really the exercise of some mediæval scholar; its historical value is absolutely nothing. Hence, some authorities have at once argued that the story of Adrian's grant to Henry II. is merely a fable, and have adduced the silence of that monarch as to any papal donation during his conquest of Ireland as a conclusive proof that the bull is absolutely spurious.

Two small points, however, are completely overlooked in such a course of reasoning, and these must now be

treated. In the first place when our mediæval scholar wished to draw up a document conferring a grant from a Pope to a king, why should he choose Adrian IV. and represent him as giving Ireland to Henry II.? Surely it would have been much more natural to have made the grant the act of Alexander III., who openly approved of the conquest, and in whose pontificate the expedition was actually made. Secondly, what possible motive could Giraldus have for inserting a document of whose genuineness he must have had doubts, when he knew that there were extant letters of Alexander, the authenticity of which was beyond all question, and which undoubtedly conveyed the Pope's approbation? The answer to these questions may be deduced from some new evidence not, indeed, directly connected with 'Laudabiliter,' but of the utmost importance in its bearing upon the connexion between Adrian IV. and Ireland.

In the first place, it is very well known that Henry II. had early meditated an expedition against Ireland. On September 29, 1155,* he held a council at Winchester, in which he discussed a scheme of conquering the island and giving it to his brother William. Roger of Wendover, who for this period incorporated the work of John de Cella, specifically states that about this time the English king sent messengers to Rome to ask Pope Adrian IV. to permit him to enter the island in arms and reduce it to his sway. Now Matthew Paris, who also based his work on that of John de Cella, gives a full account of a mission which left England for Rome on the Feast of Dionysius—that is to say, October 9. In one passage he mentions that the king's purpose in sending this embassy was to obtain permission to enter the island of Hibernia, without betraying the Christian

* On St. Michael's Day. Our authority is Robertus de Torigneio.

faith,* but in the work in which the fullest account of the journey is given, he merely states that its business was to prosecute 'very important royal business.'† Matthew represents the abbot as accompanied by the Bishops of Lisieux, Le Mans, and Evreux, and that he is quite correct is made clear by a letter sent by the Pope to the chapter of St. Angers, in the April of 1156, in which he describes Henry as making an appeal by the very ambassadors whose names are given by the chronicler of St. Alban's.‡

It may therefore be concluded that the English king, immediately after his council at Winchester, despatched envoys to Rome with a view to obtaining the Pope's consent to the expedition against Ireland, and that Adrian refused to grant his permission,§ either because Ireland was already Christian, or because he was in no hurry to give away so large a possession of the Holy See. In corroboration of this view there must now be adduced a piece of evidence more valuable than all which has gone before, because, in the first place, it expressly mentions the Pope's grant of Ireland to Henry II.; and, secondly, because it is supplied by one of the few reliable historians of the Middle Ages—to wit, by John of Salisbury.

In the last chapter of the sixth book of the 'Metalogicus,'|| the writer suddenly breaks off into a noble

* 'Ut sibi liceret sine scandalo læsionis fidei Christianiæ, Hiberniæ insulam intrare' (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, ii. 210).

† 'Ardua negotia regalia' (*Gesta Abbatum*, vol. i., p. 126).

‡ There is no mention of the Bishop of Lisieux. He is, however, known to have been at Vezelay—i.e., between Rome and Lisieux—at Easter 1156.

§ Matthew, though he deals at length with the privilege granted to St. Alban's, is for such a panegyrist of the Abbey very vague as to the general results of the embassy. We may, therefore, conclude that the abbot had failed to gain his end from the Pope.

|| Migne, *Patrol.*, vol. cxcix., col. 946.

lament for the death of Pope Adrian IV. He complains that all is vanity; for just when the long-expected peace seemed at last to be about to dawn, lo! the tempest beginning with the affair of Toulouse stirred up to a relentless strife the kings who had lately been so friendly. 'The death, too, of our lord, Pope Adrian, which disturbed all nations and peoples, has moved with yet more violent a grief the England whence he took his origin. All, indeed, wept, and none more than I, for when he had a mother and brother of his own, yet he loved me with a nearer affection than all. . . . And when he was Pontiff he delighted to have me sit at his own table, and insisted, despite my resistance, that we should dine from a common cup and platter. It was at my prayer that he gave and conceded to the illustrious King of England, Henry II., Ireland to be possessed by hereditary right; for by ancient right, according to the Donation of Constantine, all islands are said to belong to the Roman Church. Through me, too, did the Pope transmit a golden ring decked with a single emerald, with which the King's investiture was to be completed.'*

To those who, as has been stated, desire to do away altogether with Adrian's grant of Ireland, this passage is an almost insurmountable difficulty. It becomes necessary to assume that it is an interpolation, and this can only be done in the face of all probability. In the first place, the 'Metalogicus' was only finished in 1159, and there is still extant a manuscript of date earlier than 1200, in which there is no sign that the chapter was a late insertion. Again, the quarrel between the kings of England and France was settled before the November of 1159, and it is crediting a mediæval forger with too much skill to assume that he took the pains to ascertain

* 'Quo fieret.'

that the dissension which arose about Toulouse was actually raging at the time of Adrian's death in the beginning of September. John of Salisbury was one of the few scholars of the Middle Ages; his works abound with classical and scriptural allusions. When, therefore, there are found in the passage under examination quotations from Horace and Lucan, as well as from Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Jeremiah, and St. Luke, it is absurd to suppose that the chapter could be the work of any other hand. Some, too, have appealed to the fact that the Donation is quoted, as evidence of the worthlessness of the story here recounted, but when it is remembered Leo IX., Adrian I., and Urban II. had all made use of the supposed gift of Constantine, this argument appears to lose its weight. Lastly, be it noted that John is talking of a feudal grant. The Pope 'gave and conceded' the land to be held 'by a hereditary right.' It is true that this account of the grant does not tally with the vague statements of 'Laudabiliter,' but since that document has been dismissed as a fraud, no conclusion can be drawn from the evident discrepancy.

John of Salisbury, then, whilst staying with the Pope at Benevento, fell in with the English ambassadors, and learning of their unsuccessful attempt to procure Adrian's consent to the attack upon Ireland, himself undertook their mission, and persuaded the Pontiff to make Henry a feudal grant of the island. There is, however, no proof that this investiture was ever completed; John's words might imply that it was not; there was sent a ring 'quo fieret investitura,' and, if this be true, then an argument much employed by all opponents of 'Laudabiliter' ceases to have any force. Henry II. did not publish any bull in support of his attack upon Ireland in 1172, for the simple reason that, having refused the Pope's terms, he had no bull to produce.

Mr. Thatcher suggests that Adrian, who always husbanded carefully the resources of the Holy See, had granted his permission to the invasion of Ireland by no means gratuitously, but had demanded in return for his consent a cessation of the measures which the King was at that time taking against clerical privilege.* If such was the case, it is easy to suppose that, when Henry found himself precluded from an immediate attack upon the island by the urgency of his home affairs, he declined to accept the conditions offered by the Pope, determining to put off his appeal for the support of Rome until a more auspicious occasion. On the other hand, if it be assumed that the investiture of which John of Salisbury speaks was fully completed, it is still possible to explain the king's silence of 1172, on the ground that the bull had ceased to be of any practical value.† There is a considerable difference between the Irish expedition as planned in 1155, and the actual invasion which took place some seventeen years later: on the latter occasion, as Cardinal Moran‡ himself has said: 'The supposed bull of Pope Adrian had no part whatever in the submission of the Irish chieftains.' In point of fact, Henry crossed the sea not so much upon a definitely organized scheme of conquest, as with the intention of settling the

* There is extant a letter from Adrian to Theobald of Canterbury, in which the archbishop is upbraided because he has offered no resistance to the king's law that no appeals should go to Rome. Mr. Thatcher suggests that the repeal of this measure would be one of the concessions demanded by the Pope.

† This is the view taken by Miss Norgate (*E. H. R.*, vol. viii.). She, however, defends Cambrensis' 'Laudabiliter' as genuine. Mr. Round has attacked her position in an essay in *The Commune of London*.

‡ A vigorous assailant of 'Laudabiliter' in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of 1872.

quarrel between Strongbow and the Irish, and, above all, of avoiding the legation which was about to excommunicate him for his share in Becket's death. This business, therefore, was accomplished by a prompt, practical, and unostentatious intervention, in which the publication of what was after all only 'a commendatory letter' from the Pope would really be of small assistance to him.

But whether Adrian definitely made the king a grant of Ireland, or whether, as seems more probable, the investiture was never completed owing to Henry's refusal to accept the Pope's terms, the fact that in 1155 John of Salisbury did obtain some sort of a bull authorizing an attack upon the island cannot be doubted. In the first place the witness of John himself is unimpeachable; secondly, the whole traditionary evidence links the name of Adrian IV. with the grant of Ireland. It was certainly to the interest of no one to pretend that the grant was made in 1155 if it really was not, for, as has been seen, Alexander III. quite approved of Henry's scheme of conquest; and even had the case been otherwise, events proved that the king's expedition in no wise depended for success upon the use of a papal bull. That the Irish themselves believed in the genuineness of this grant is obvious, for in later days they besought the Pope to repeal it, and the very Pontiffs must have accepted it as real, for they never disclaimed it. This being so, all argument on the question seems to be somewhat futile, for, even if it were established that Adrian IV. was not responsible for any grant of Ireland, the fact remains that the Popes of the twelfth century did encourage the attack of Henry II. upon an island already Christianized, and against this fact the fury of religious ardour or party zeal can produce no reliable argument.

X

CONCLUSION

OF Adrian IV., the head of the Catholic faith and the director of the papal policy much has been said. It remains to consider Adrian the man. Fortunately, the various accounts of his personality are marvellously consistent, and it is therefore easy to obtain a clear conception of the character of the English Pope.

When first Nicholas Breakspear appears upon the stage he is young and handsome, with a pleasant face and courteous manners,* and though his knowledge is scanty, he has yet a huge desire to learn. After he had taken the religious habit, however, other and stronger qualities began to come into play. The resolution which had driven him across the sea in pursuit of letters, turned him into a diligent student, so that the youth whom St. Alban's had rejected became Abbot of St. Rufus. No sooner was he abbot than the stern reformer showed, and ere long the idle canons, who, doubtless misled by the young foreigner's good nature, had expected an indulgent ruler, were found to murmur against the strict discipline which he enforced. So came it that Nicholas visited Rome, and there his qualities attracted so much attention in high quarters that the abbot became cardinal. Soon, as trusted legate, he was despatched to Scandinavia, and

* Matt. Paris, William of Newbury.

in this new sphere his practical wisdom and his kindness drew to him the respect and the love of all with whom he came into contact.

It was, therefore, as a man of tried courage and wide experience that Nicholas returned to Rome to receive the papal tiara, and there seems to be small reason to doubt the truth of the panegyric with which Boso's Life begins. The new Pope, he says, was a man kind and patient, skilled in the Latin and the English tongues: eloquent of speech and polished in his phrase, he was a mighty preacher. In church music, too, he was exceedingly proficient. Slow was he to anger, but quick to pardon; large in alms, and a cheerful giver.* But though Adrian IV. was a man thus endowed with the gentler virtues, his whole history brings forth very evidently the fact of his iron resolution. His courage was truly English; it lay not so much in the fury of attack as in the obstinacy of defence. And yet there were moments when he himself was very conscious of his dangers and difficulties, and felt that the responsibility of his lofty office was more than he could bear. To John of Salisbury† he opened his heart, perhaps because he rejoiced at the sight of an English face amongst the crowd of Italians and Frenchmen who surrounded him.

Indeed, says John, the prince is the servant of his servants, and to this I can call as witness my lord Pope Adrian, for he confessed to me that there was none more wretched than the Roman Pontiff, who, if it were so that all else were well, must needs succumb to the endless toil imposed upon him. So much misery had he himself found in that lofty seat that in comparison all past unhappiness seemed like very pleasure. Thorny, said he, is the chair of St. Peter, and so girt about with pains and

* 'Hilaris dator.' † 'Polycraticus,' lib. viii., cap. xxiii.

difficulties that the strongest must soon lose heart, for it is only because it burns like fire that the tiara is worth having. He would he had never left his native shores, or had never abandoned the sheltering walls of St. Rufus, to enter upon so dread a path, yet dared he not to disobey the divine dispensation. The Pope added that he lay ever betwixt the hammer and the anvil, and unless the Lord who placed him there intervene with strong right hand he would surely be crushed.

Such a confession of weakness is a mark of an honest heart, and the fact of its being made at all reveals one of the most lovable traits of Adrian's character. He never stood upon ceremony unless he was compelled, but all who came to visit him with good intentions were sure of a sincere and kindly reception. The Norwegians who travelled to Rome found not a lordly Pope, but a kind friend; the Abbot of St. Alban's was admitted to a private interview, in which he was greeted as *carissime*;* John of Salisbury even dared to rebuke the Holy Church before him who was its head.† Once, when he was visiting Adrian at Benevento, the Pope in private conversation asked him what men thought of himself and about the Papacy in general, and John replied honestly that many were of opinion that the Roman Church was no true mother, but a stepmother; that Scribes and Pharisees sat therein imposing heavy burdens and gathering up wealth—seldom, indeed, was a poor man admitted. The churches were shaken, the clergy and people were led into strife, while these men piled up riches. Justice itself they gave at a price, and, like devils, were thought to do well when they ceased to do evil. Meanwhile, the Pope bore heavily on all, and busied himself, not in repairing

* Matt. Paris, *Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, vol. i., p. 127.

† 'Polycraticus,' lib. viii., cap. xxiii.

the churches, but in building palaces and walking in purple and fine raiment. Upon Adrian's inquiry what John himself thought, the latter went on to say that in his opinion there were many good men in the Church, but that the stain of a few cast a slur upon all. Nevertheless the Pope himself was not blameless; he should seek out good men and humble, despisers of vainglory and money; he, who called himself father, should not demand gifts from his children, but should reduce to obedience his rebellious sons, the Romans. What the Church should seek was virtue, and not wealth. Therefore let justice, the queen of all virtues, be free to all; for whilst the Pope oppressed others, he himself would surely be oppressed. Adrian, when he heard this indictment, smiled, and bade his candid friend always repeat to him the evil which was said against him.

As a man, therefore, Nicholas Breakspear was kindly, tolerant, and straightforward. His high position did not rob him of the simple charm which had marked his early years, it rendered him not prouder but humbler, since he was made to realize that he was in the hands of a higher power. 'Oculi mei semper ad dominum' was the motto of Adrian IV.* But a gentle and honest disposition is not infrequently the strongest, and the truth of this statement is proved by the case of the English Pope. For though he felt himself unable, save by God's aid, to bear the burden thrust upon him, he never shirked his duty. Against the host of Barbarossa, against the conquering King of Sicily, he showed himself fearless and resolute. In his hands the Papacy abated not a whit of the claims which Hildebrand had urged, and that although her opponent was none other than the great Frederick himself.

* This *signum* is preserved by Ciaconius.

It is true that Adrian was not in advance of his age, that his victim Arnold is to modern eyes the representative of a truer opinion than his own, but this is not to the point. Far be it from us to underrate the work of the idealists. To their efforts was due all in the Middle Ages that has been of permanent effect. Yet was it the practical men who, in their day, achieved the actual triumphs, and among these an honoured position must be given to the English Pope. If his conception of right was not so true as that of some of his contemporaries, it was none the less sincere, and for that conception Adrian IV. did not hesitate freely to spend himself. This it is that ennobles him; in the mighty struggle between the temporal and the secular powers, he upheld what he believed to be the cause of justice and truth with an unwavering valour. And his labour was not in vain. He brought back the Papacy to a truer policy of alliance with the Normans; he bound to her cause the resistless force which strove for freedom in North Italy.

It is true that he died when in the midst of the strife, when the battle was all but lost. Yet a successor was not wanting; Cardinal Roland, himself an active participator in Adrian's struggle against the Empire, ascended the Papal chair as Alexander III., to prove that the Englishman's example of resistance did not lack an imitator. And though success was long in coming, yet it came at last. Milan fell, but Alessandria arose to continue the struggle. Frederick captured Rome, but in the end came Legnano, where the imperial eagle fell beneath the triumphant *caroccio* and Adrian's policy received its final vindication. Well may England honour her gallant son, successful alike as abbot, missionary, and Pope. By sheer merit he rose to the highest position, by courage and wisdom he directed the policy of

the Curia to what was ultimately a triumphant close. In all things he was essentially practical, yet his was a noble practicality. Filled with a sense of his Divine mission, he 'ever marched breast forward, never doubted clouds would break'; fresh dangers but aroused him to a loftier determination to succeed, ever he struggled towards his distant goal. True that he died with his work half done, but what of that? There arose in his stead one trained in his own school, to carry on the battle which he had begun, and to make the Hildebrandine Empire of which Adrian had dreamt less of a vision and more of an accomplished fact. It was at the feet of Alexander that Frederick Barbarossa fell, but the papal triumph of which this submission was the climax was due in no small measure to the efforts of Adrian IV.

THE END



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